Fellowship

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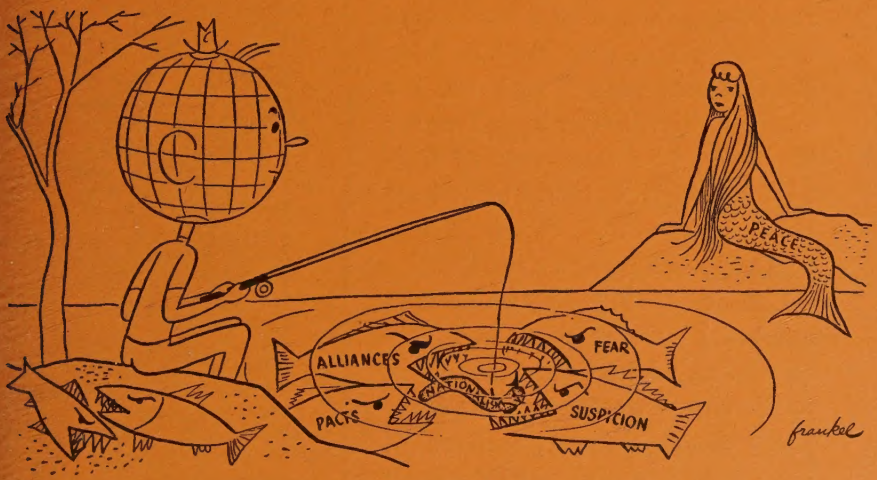

Wrong Bait

They Witness Against Thee, by Milton Mayer

Thawing but Unsettled, by A. J. Muste

The Slow, Long Burning, by Sarah Cleghorn

Our Pacifist Ancestors, by Henry Bailey Stevens

Just Among Ourselves, by John M. Swomley, Jr.

HENRY BAILEY STEVENS is Director of the General Extension Service of the University of New Hampshire. Until about a year ago this included state extension service in agriculture and home economics in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture and county farm bureaus. He is an FOR member and the author of *Tolstoy, Johnny Appleseed and Paul Bunyan,* and of a number of one-act plays. His article "Our Pacifist Ancestors" will be, for many, an irresistible appetizer for his book, *The Recovery of Culture,* which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue. . . . "Aunt Sally" Cleghorn is an ardent pacifist, socialist and antivivisectionist. She has been a warm partisan of the struggling labor, socialist and pacifist movements since the early years of this century, and taught for many years at the Manumit School for Workers' Children when it was in Pawling, New York. . . . A. J. Muste analyzes the international situation and John Swomley the internal FOR situation . . . and Milton Mayer says a humble word about pacifism and belief.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

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Subheads

Competition

When, at about the age of 18, we first began to grow out of our sturdy Republican, competitive, nationalistic youth, we bumped up against one earnest group of young radicals who very nearly sent us reeling back into permanent reaction purely by their horror of competitive sports and their devotion to "non-competitive games."

Always a puny stripling unable to make headway on baseball diamond or football field, we had developed a right nice style on a handball court, and the thought of a brave new world that would substitute square dancing for handball affected us about the way an excess-profits tax affects the N.A.M. Fortunately the group contained another philistine, and it met in a church hall with a handball court, so we ended each meeting with a good old-fashioned competition that soothed our ruffled feelings and banished to limbo all thoughts of Virginia Reels, knitting bees, and the social desirability of group weaving.

The whole thing came back to us the other day when we read about 2,000 Czech schoolboys and girls gathering at Prague to be introduced to "Socialist races." There was no competition in the races; no winners or losers; no marks striven for or set. "The object," reports the *Times*, "was entirely to obtain the greatest possible participation in the races. Achievement of that object was called a victory."

It makes us shudder, frankly. If there's anything worse than group weaving, it must be races that have no object but to get two thousand kids running at the same time. Running is not an end in itself, and neither is cooperation. You run as a means to achieve a desired end: to catch a train, set a new mark, or get away from somebody who wants to teach you to weave. So do you cooperate for desired ends, and if they happen to include the incidental satisfactions that come

out of working together on operating a grocery store or building a house, or defying the draft law, they are no less ends, and cooperation no less means.

And the wars that have been started by the healthy competition of track or handball court could be counted on the fingers of one foot.

Definition

"A liberal is a man who is constantly and simultaneously being kicked in the teeth by the Commies and in the pants by the National Association of Manufacturers."—Frank Sullivan in the *New York Herald-Tribune.*

Suspicious

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has become a part of American folklore: one of the institutions, like the Constitution, the Founding Fathers, and the Flag, which it is heresy even to question. It is glamorized and glorified in a regular network radio program to which children and adults listen avidly, and its boss is in constant demand as a speaker at religious and community gatherings and as guest writer of inspirational editorials in Sunday school papers. The occasional timid suggestion that the FBI might be turning into a form of secret police has been howled down by press and public alike, and its maker eyed with suspicion as a Red.

But it is still police, and it is still very, very secret, and so probably it is a very good thing that Federal Judge Albert B. Reeves insisted that FBI reports to be used as evidence against Judith Coplon must be exposed to open inspection in the courtroom. Against what the papers called the "vigorous objections of the Govern ment," therefore, some of the FBI closely guarded methods of chara ter assessment made their way i to the daily papers, and if it we not for the fact that these are re persons involved, some of the would be very funny.

For example, "confidential i formant ND 305" was solemnly r corded as having notified the F that Frederic March, the actor, a peared on a program sponsored the American Society for Russi Relief at Madison Square Garde December 18, 1945, a report ev dently more sinister than wou have been a file of the many new paper clips conveying the same i formation.

And confidential informants E 324 and ND 336 let the FBI kno that Mr. March's name appear on an advertising throwaway f another Madison Square Garde meeting, and that Mr. March hin self had stood on the platform a read Norman Corwin's poem, "S Your Clock at U-235." To whic the *New York Times* soberly ad the information that "Uranium 235 is a fissionable material us in making atomic bombs," so th one finds oneself saying "Mm *hmm*!" as though this actual were important and damning i formation—as though Madiso Square Garden that night had bee hid in a dark corner somewhe instead of blazing with lights at i usual stand. As though reading t Corwin poem were somehow su versive and shameful, although was also read on the radio and, v should judge, from scores of pu pits in those strange days of 19 when we were more fearful of t atom-bomb and another war th of each other's thoughts.

The Marches took quite a bea

ing in this particular batch of reports, and most of it was the same type. Mr. March had given $5,000 to a periodical run by two men who are "subjects of investigation . . . as possible Russian espionage agents." Mrs. March's name had been mentioned in a conversation between two Communists talking about a new "front organization," and overheard by confidential informant T-7, while informant T-8 once heard a woman "well known . . . for her Communist and espionage activities" say she "knew Mrs. March very well."

So that "A" is presumed guilty because he knows "B," or gave "B" some money, or was mentioned in a conversation by "B," because "B" himself is suspected of maybe being guilty of something—and maybe "B" in turn is suspected because "C" mentioned *him*, and so on. And these are not files kept as a hobby for Mr. Hoover, but the sources to which the government looks when it wants to determine a man's loyalty; files that ordinarily are beyond question or examination, and can ruin a man's reputation for life.

So Fully Pact

"John Foster Dulles, a U.S. delegate to the United Nations, says that if the (North Atlantic) Pact is to promote peace, member nations must avoid words or deeds that might give Russia the impression that the United States in taking on new allies is 'accumulating whistle stops' on the road to Moscow."—*United States News*, April 1, 1949.

"What the U.S. gets under the alliance is primarily a guarantee of island bases in striking distance of Russia. . . . "—*United States News*, April 8, 1949.

Exclusive

"Except for the news released by this headquarters, all Chinese and English morning and evening newspapers and news agencies are forbidden to publish other inaccurate war news."—Regulation 6, Shanghai Garrison Command.

"Readers of some editions of *The Observer* will find a sentence in a story about the Armed services on the front page of the fourth section which states 'The Army, Navy and Air Force are organizations considered subversive and un-American.' This, of course, is a mistake." —*Raleigh* (N.C.) *Observer*.
Sure?

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The *New Yorker* reports that the Toy Shop in Atlantic City "carries a box of four rubber articles listed as suitable for children from four to six—a pistol, an axe, a dagger, and a knife. It's called the Murder Set."

* * *

France has proposed a UN census of the armed forces of all world powers, but not including atomic weapons or guided missiles. Russia, obstinate as usual, wants atomic weapons included.

* * *

The Army's Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, refused to send an officer to debate UMT at Park College when it learned that the opposition would be furnished by John Swomley. It had previously accepted the invitation.

BELIEF IN THE RIGHT OF A MAN TO FOLLOW HIS CONSCIENCE MAY LEAD TO PROSECUTION, ACCORDING TO THE DECISION RENDERED IN

The Gara Case

By CALEB FOOTE

AS THE FIRST JURORS were called to take their place in the jury box in Toledo's federal courtroom, only the spectators who occupied every available seat and crowded the corridor outside indicated that anything unusual was on the court docket. The judge's questions of prospective jurymen were friendly and routine; he seemed pleased that so many had lived all their lives in or near Toledo, and he paid gallant compliments to the youthful appearance of the elderly jurors. To each in turn he put the usual query:

"Do you feel you could enter into the trial of this case and render a fair and impartial verdict based on the law and the evidence alone?"

But the United States Attorney had some questions which were not quite so routine. Do any of you, the prosecutor asked, have any feeling against the Selective Service Law? Are you a member of any organization opposed to the Selective Service Act, or opposed to war or participation in war? Do any of you, or your families or friends, belong to the religious Society of Friends, the Peacemakers, the Quakers, the Jehovah Witnesses, or any other church opposed to war or Selective Service or service in the armed forces?

To these questions the jurors replied with such remarks as "I a always with the government, wha ever the government wants to do or "My feeling is that if the gov ernment says to do something, yo have to do it." Only one juror ad mitted any knowledge of th Quakers, but he explained that h had heard of them only becau his grandmother on his mother side had been a Quaker, and a sured the prosecutor that she ha died when he was very young.

The defense thereupon explai ed to the jury in great detail th

Caleb Foote

After graduating from Harvard and taking his Master's degree in economics at Columbia in 1941, Caleb Foote became Northern California Secretary of the FOR. In 1943 he received a six months' prison sentence for refusing to go to CPS, and in 1945 was sentenced to two years in prison for the same offense. After coming out for the second time, he and his family went to live and work on a farm in California and later in Delaware. For the past six months he has been Secretary of the Central Committee for COs, which works mostly on the cases of nonregistrant COs. He has lately traveled a good deal, covering the trials of these men and of Larry Gara.

background of the Quaker and Mennonite witness against war. George Fox was quoted, opposing all participation in war, and the jury was asked if it would be prejudiced against a defendant who believed such things. The twelve Ohio businessmen, farmers and housewives were silent.

The prosecutor rose to protest; these questions about Quaker beliefs, he maintained, may make the jury think the defendant is being prosecuted because of what he believes.

"The court will say to this defendant," the judge ruled, "that he is not on trial for his beliefs."

Just to make sure, the prosecutor had one more question: Do any of you believe in *any* of the tenets of the Society of Friends, or Quakers? One juror had a few doubts about this; but the prosecutor pressed him until he, too, agreed he did not agree with ANY Quaker tenets.

Fair and Impartial

The preliminaries of obtaining a fair and impartial jury thus out of the way, the prosecutor rose to make his opening statement, and for the first time the jury heard the charge against the slight, red-haired defendant who sat at a table facing them across the courtroom:

> On or about the 8th day of November, 1948, at Bluffton, in the Northern District of Ohio, Western Division, Larry Gara knowingly counselled, aided and abetted one Charles Ray Rickert to refuse or evade registration as required by the Selective Service Act of 1948.

But as the trial wore on through four days, the function of the jury became of lesser importance. The jury's job, the judge had said, was to judge the facts and the credibility of the witnesses, but questions of law it had to accept as handed down by the court. It soon became apparent that, with one exception, questions of fact were not disputed in this trial. As the record unfolded, it showed a basic agreement among prosecution and defense as to what had happened.

The jury learned that Charles Rickert, one of the students at Bluffton College, a Mennonite school 100 miles south of Toledo, had registered as a conscientious objector during the last war, and had been deferred as a pre-divinity student. They learned further that when the peacetime draft was enacted in June, 1948, Rickert was attending a YMCA seminar in Wisconsin. He was deeply troubled, and wrote his father that he had decided, for religious reasons, to refuse to register. Accordingly, on the following September 10, the date set for his age group, Rickert went to his draft board in Lima, Ohio, gave them his name, address, and year of birth, and left them a statement explaining his refusal to register. The draft board reported his asserted delinquency to the United States Attorney, and in the course of time Rickert was arrested, convicted and sentenced to 18 months. The indictment against him was for his refusal to register "on or about September 10th."

It Started Here

Larry Gara first entered the picture about ten days after Rickert had been to his draft board with his letter of refusal. A nonregistrant himself in the last war, with a three-year prison term under his belt, Gara had been doing graduate work at Penn State College when Rickert had first decided not to reg-

ister. He came to Bluffton College as dean of men and instructor in history early in September, and about the 20th learned from a newspaper clipping and by rumor that one of his students, Charles Rickert, had failed to register for the peacetime draft. He sent for him, learned that the report was correct, and told him that he had been to prison for the same thing. He also said, as nearly as Rickert could recall, words to the effect of "good luck." The prosecutor immediately followed this up:

> Rickert: I cannot repeat the exact words. That is six months ago.
>
> Question: The import of the words was he wished you the best of luck on your refusal to register, is that it?
>
> Rickert: In the things that would come out of it.
>
> Question: In the outcome of your refusal to register, he wished you the best of luck, is that it?
>
> Rickert: That is right.

The Finger of Shame

The prosecutor made a great deal of this in the latter stages of the trial, alleging that to say "good luck" was aiding and abetting Rickert's violation, in that it gave him support and encouraged him in his course of action.

The making of a felon is as simple as that under the Selective Service law, and as the weeks passed before Rickert's arrest, Gara became more and more implicated. He and Rickert met frequently, as was inevitable for teacher and student living in the same dormitory in a small college, and the jury heard detailed testimony of what happened in the conversations they had together. Gara told Rickert about the court trials of other nonregistrants, they shared letters received on the subject, and discussed what life as a convict would involve for Rickert. Taking the stand in his own defense on the third day, Gara explained under cross-examination some of the things he had told Rickert:

> "I was anxious that he strengthen his prayer life, his inward preparedness, and that he knew what he was doing," Gara said. "I feel it is very tragic if people do things which are not really an inner urge, and if it is in the nature of defiance of compulsion, which will bring the onus of society on their heads, because if it is a mere whim or mere suggestion taken at some one else's request, it will not stand up."

Therefore, the testimony brought out, Gara had told Rickert to "feel free to change his mind," and to register, unless he was absolutely sure of his convictions. To the prosecutor this was an especially sinister statement, and he repeatedly asked Gara to explain it:

"I meant," Gara explained, "that the fact that I took this position and my wife took this position should not push him into continuing if at any moment he was not convinced he should continue inwardly."

The prosecutor said he still didn't understand; why was it necessary to tell Rickert that?

"I told you what was behind that. I have seen so many people crack up when they take positions for which they are not ready. I have seen the prison system break conscientious objectors who were not prepared to take what they had to offer. . . . I wanted to make sure in this particular case he realized the consequences were heavy, because I have seen men become embittered."

The prosecutor said, "I still do not understand," and later in the trial, addressing the jury, he recalled that Gara had told Rickert to feel free to change his mind, adding:

"I make a lot out of that statement. How could the boy waver when day after day, instead of getting a little fatherly advice, he was exposed to an influence like that? If the finger of shame had been pointed at Rickert, with a good old-fashioned lecture, who can say if he wouldn't have seen the error of his ways?"

On November 8, when government agents arrived to arrest Rickert, it was Gara who met them at the door. There was some disagreement as to what he said, but the general import was this:

"If you take Charles Rickert, you should take my wife and me, for we advocate the same position and we would do the same thing." And when the agents left with Rickert, he said, "Charles, stand by your principles, don't let them coerce you into *changing your conscience.*" The government claims that Gara said, "coerce you into *registering,*" but as the judge later indicated either phrase was a violation of the law, the jury did not have to decide who to believe.

In any case, the prosecutor did not press this distinction in the closing phases of the trial. He did not feel he had to:

"If ever a man convicted himself on the stand," he declared, "Gara did. I feel that the government could almost rely on Gara alone for a verdict of guilty." To talk about prison life, about the history of COs, about developing inward preparation through prayer—all these, it was maintained, aided and abetted Rickert in his violation. "You can't place any other interpretation on it!"

The crux of the trial came on the last morning, when the judge instructed the jury in the meaning of this man-made law which makes it a crime not to point "the finger of shame" at another man who is following his own conscience.

"While you are the sole judges of the facts and the credibility of the witnesses," the judge explained, "it is incumbent upon you to take the law as the court charges it to you."

He then pointed out that Gara was charged with counselling, aiding, and abetting, words which variously mean advise, offer an opinion to encourage, incite or support.

"You Are Instructed . . ."

"It is the apparent contention of the defendant," he said, "that he did not counsel, aid or abet Rickert in his refusal to register on September 10, 1948, but merely that he supported him in his attitude after he, Rickert, had decided in his own mind not to register. . . . You are instructed that if what the defendant knowingly said to Rickert on the 8th day of November, 1948, under the circumstances then and there present, was of such a nature that it had a tendency to encourage or cause Rickert to continue his refusal to register under the Selective Service Act of 1948, whether or not it actually had that effect, it would constitute an offense within the meaning of this Act. . . . "

The sweeping nature of this instruction can be contemplated upon rereading it; it is apparent that any sort of love or encouragement or consolation offered a man

at the time of his arrest can be interpreted as a crime; the judge was virtually endorsing the prosecutor's remark that the only way to avoid criminal activity is to "point the finger of shame," and lest there be any doubt in the jury's mind, the judge said the same thing again in slightly different words:

"If you find, under these instructions, beyond a reasonable doubt, that the natural and probable effect of what was knowingly said by the defendant to Rickert . . . was to encourage his resistance . . . . " then it comes under "the intent and meaning of the words 'counsel, aid and abet.' "

The judge ruled out defense claims based on the First Amendment, finding that Gara's rights to free speech and free religion had not been violated, and so informing the jury. Congress has a right to enact legislation, even if it violates free speech or religion, "which it deems necessary for the public safety, general welfare, or the security and safety of our country." The Selective Service Law is such an act. While Congress is "deprived of all legislative power over mere opinion," it is "left free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive of good order."

"You are instructed that it is the law that although one is not punished in these United States for his religious views and beliefs, yet one may be punished when through external conduct these views are put into practice, if such practice is fraught with clear and present danger to the safety, morals, health or general welfare of the community, and is violative of laws enacted for their protection."

That Gara's few words were so fraught with danger to this nation is an interpretation of th "clear and present" danger ru which reduced the First Amend ment to the Constitution to virtu impotence.

Why pick on Gara? That, I sup pose, was the question that mo disturbed those who packed th courtroom. Three hundred minis ters, the Pasadena Friends Meet ing, and scores of pickets have a out-and-out advocated nonregis tration. They remain free as Gar serves his 18-month sentence fo merely encouraging one nonregis trant. The inequality of justice tha picks up Gara alone from thou sands who are at least equall "guilty" smacks of persecution o a man who has already spent thre years behind bars for his convic tions.

Why This One?

The answer is found partly i the haphazard, unplanned way i which the government goes a these things. United States Atto neys are given wide discretio and had Gara been living almo anywhere else but in the Norther District of Ohio, he would prob ably be free today. Part of th answer also lies in the "provoca tion" which Gara gave them; h remarks apparently infuriated th agents who arrested Rickert, an afterwards he wrote a letter to th U. S. Attorney decrying the arre and saying that he, too, took an advocated such a position. He ha written other such letters to go ernment officials, in which, in h fervent desire to stand by th young men who were being pun ished as he had been, he probabl exaggerated the degree to whic he had "urged other young men to take the position. But given United States Attorney only to

eager to go to work against COs, and given these letters which apparently gave him an airtight case, the temptation was too much to miss.

But Gara was not convicted on these letters, for investigation produced no evidence to back them up, and Gara explained them simply and convincingly. So instead of dropping the case, the government chose to push through an interpretation of the law that makes the words "counsel, aid and abet" the greatest threat to religious liberty in our times. As the case moves toward the Supreme Court, we will do well to look upon the fate of this Quaker as our own, for if his conviction is upheld, the Constitution has ceased to protect us.

As I was leaving the courthouse after one of the trial sessions, I saw Charles Rickert in the tow of a United States Marshal as he was being led back to jail to take up his interrupted prison term. Without thinking, I raised my arm in greeting: "Good luck, Charles!" Fortunately the prosecutor wasn't within earshot, and anyway he and his superiors in Washington are going to have their hands full without me. There are 2000 ministers in the Ohio Pastors Convention, the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings of Friends, the Friends Richmond conference, and thousands of others who have publicly taken the same position as Gara. If the prosecution wishes to give us the greatest religious persecution in the Anglo-Saxon world since the 17th Century, when 15,000 of Gara's spiritual forebears went to jail in defiance of the British Conventicle Acts, it will not be hard to do. For if they look around enough, they can fill every vacant jail cell in the land with people who believe that, if a man is sincerely following a course in obedience to divine compulsion, he should be supported in trying to live the truth as he sees it.

In Toledo, Ohio, on June 19 more than 100 men and women rose, and, addressing two young nonregistrant COs who stood on the platform, repeated after Dr. Henry Hitt Crane the words: "Above all else, we urge you to obey the dictates of your consciences. Don't be coerced. Stand by your guns and follow your Christ to the bitter end."

On June 16 a statement was released, signed by fifty-six people, including Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert M. Hutchins, Philip Morrison and Robert S. Lynd, declaring they were "willing to be publicly associated with the statement of the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings of Friends in the Larry Gara case, (and) to support his appeal to the Supreme Court."

The statement of the Yearly Meetings reads: "We believe that every young man who, under a sense of religious compulsion, feels that he must refuse to comply with the Draft Law, at any point, should follow the supreme authority of his inner guide. We believe that every Christian and every Christian Church body should encourage and support him in his loyalty to the highest that he knows. For ourselves, we give this encouragement and support."

A fascinating reconstruction, from the evidence of fossils, trees and plants, of the life of the primates who were man's forebears, and of the early men who were

Our Pacifist Ancestors

By HENRY BAILEY STEVENS

He who loses his way does well to stop and try to learn at what point he took the wrong track.

Befuddled man today is obviously off his course. He has come to the abyss where he will destroy himself if he goes ahead. But the old cry that a glance back over History can give no help—that it is all "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing"—is no longer true.

New evidence from archaeology and anthropology carries us back beyond the explosions of the empire-builders and gives us the dim outlines of an overall pattern that makes sense. Only in recent millennia have we been sowing the seed of organized violence and reaping the whirlwind. J. H. Breasted in Egypt, Sir Arthur Evans in Crete, C. C. McCown in Palestine, Sir John Marshall in the Indus Valley, Elliot Smith, and other authorities agree that excavations of the earliest culture reflect a peaceful civilization. The signs of organized warfare are absent at the lower levels. Man seems to have fallen into his present hell within the last five thousand years.

By piecing together further discoveries from various fields of knowledge it is now possible to get an even clearer picture of the prehistoric course. We can begin to give some chronological order the great mass of data turned up such work as Frazer's *Gold Bough.*

The rough timetable of the geo ogists and paleontologists ind cates that the flowering trees, whi made our primate family possibl are over 100 million years old; t primates themselves 60 millio the anthropoids 39 million; and t hominoids one million. This mea that for 59 of the 60 million yea of our primate existence, the foo bearing trees were our home a furnished our daily bread. O bloodcousins, the anthropoid ape to whom we are so closely relat that we can catch their colds, d pend entirely upon these plants f their food and will not touch me Their instinctive kindliness, nea ness, sense of humor and primiti language give important clues the nature of man's ancestors.

Nor did the close relationship man to the food tree stop when descended from his arboreal exis ence. The botanists find evidence the fruit and nut trees, cereals a other food-bearing plants that co scious selection and planting chosen stock must have been g ing on for half a million yea This estimate is borne out by t findings of the paleontologists the southern lands. There t

hand-axe, an admirable tool for horticultural use, is the dominant artifact, the sign of our culture; it too shows an age of about 500,000 years.

In other words, the concept of Early Man as a cave-dwelling carnivore with club, spear and grisly bones is very much distorted. The trouble is that most of the research had been done in the northern lands of Europe, where the ice-sheets caught a few tribes in continental traps. The caveman gives no better picture of our early culture than does the Eskimo of modern life. When the glaciers came, most men moved south, where they developed horticulture, the planting of seeds.

It was in the temple garden with its Tree of Life and "every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food" that our religion (cult), our art (culture) and our agriculture were nourished. Such a setting is constant in the folk memory as the Garden of Eden, Avalon, the Greek Hesperides, the Norse Yggdrasill, the Chinese paradise, the Polynesian Ava-iki, etc. The temple gardens are indigenous to southeastern Asia, whence they spread in neolithic times to western Asia, Africa and Europe. The arts of language, the dance, the drama, and music spread with them. First fruits, mulches and bloodless offerings were returned to the Earth Mother. The evidence in Crete is that not until the third millennium before Christ do the signs of blood sacrifice appear. The Eleusinian rites, the practices of the Orphic societies, and many other references indicate an abhorrence of bloodshed.

Modern research thus bears out the allegory of Genesis that the first son of Man was, in truth, a gardener. Horticulture was our earliest profession. Animal husbandry came much later. The scientists date the domestication of meat animals no earlier than 6500 B.C., and several additional millennia would have been required to perfect the techniques of flock and herd management. But when the carnivorous northern tribes learned how to breed and keep cattle, sheep and goats, a tremendous revolution in both land-use and ethics took place. Heretofore the hunter had done much to exterminate the animals. Now he conspired to multiply them over the face of the earth. Heretofore he had killed game as an open foe. Now he protected and cared for the animals in order to betray and kill them later. As the herds of livestock overgrazed the land and created deserts, their nomad keepers drove them south into the garden civilization. Anyone who has had his patch overrun by cattle can imagine the resulting havoc.

Such is the setting for the great mass-murder mystery which is symbolized in the Cain-Abel story. Indeed, the cry of anguish that came out of the melee may well have been the beginning of recorded History. The accounts clearly show that here was the wrong

Vegetarian

Prof. Stevens presented his thesis at the FOR Annual Conference in 1947, where it made its mark. "Many delegates looked pale when they found chicken on their plates the day after Henry Stevens' pro-vegetarianism speech. Qualms were sternly suppressed, however, and most did their duty thoroughly," reported FELLOWSHIP.

turn. Here the diabolical in man reached such a pitch that he could conceive of war.

It was admittedly the shepherds and cattlemen who upset the equilibriums of India, Egypt, Crete, Palestine and China. The barbarism of the Hyksos, literally the Shepherd Kings, set Egypt on its imperial course. The very word for war in the Aryan tongue meant "a desire for more cows." The Babylonian kings glorified the man-headed bull. The Hebrews yearned for the Golden Calf. In beautiful Crete appeared the Minotaur with his loathsome tribute. A sense of foreboding becomes clear in the folklore. Man felt that he had fallen out of the Golden Age. In the cool of the day (in the northern regions) he had changed his clothing from fig-leaves to the skins of animals. He had been tempted to follow the diet of the serpent.

Horticultural practice lights up the significance of the two offerings in the Cain-Abel allegory. The modern operator of a sod-mulch orchard spreads cuttings of grass around his trees even as in the temple gardens were brought the offerings of first fruits. Such was Cain's demonstration. But also we know that fruit trees respond sharply to application of nitrogen. The Tree-God, fertilized with blood, would have yielded the bigger crop! This half-truth fooled the wise men of those days into conclusions as to how the Great Spirit could be best satisfied. It explains, as nothing else, the widespread adoption of the blood sacrifice with all its resulting perversions. Western man sealed his conscience and claimed divine sanction for shedding blood.

In Europe now the peaceful cults that had revolved around blossom ing trees, were replaced or smea ed with blood and defiled wi fleshpots. Thus the butche brought the ultimate degradatio of human sacrifice and war. It is this point that Mars began to dom inate human life.

There are important implic tions in this record for modern a tion. If here is where we took t wrong turn, here also is the poi where we may correct our cours If organized warfare came quick —in the last minute, as it were, human evolution—it is not deeply set in our culture as w had imagined. Neither is its blood twin, the meat industry.

We have been attempting com plex controls of war through com plex political action, manipulate at a distance. Actually nothin could so relieve the tensions of t day as a relaxation on land pre sure; and the Western practice raising animal food, which r quires five times as much land would otherwise be necessary, the most potent factor in that pre sure. Consumers hold the key land use, and their decisions as the nature of food require no vot in Congress. Their own deman at mealtime settle the question.

It is time for the smug Weste religions of today to take a ne account of the ancient wisdom the East, even as apparently d the early Christian fathers. Tolst and Gandhi have already point that way. Why not think about t origin, nature and destructiven of meat before continuing t habit which is the degrading, ug unclean, dangerous, uneconom irreligious prelude to war—a ha unworthy of man, the thinki animal?

They Witness Against Thee

By MILTON MAYER

I HAVE NO CONFESSOR or psychiatrist. I must therefore tell my friends about my troubles, and you are my friends. My troubles lie in the realm of faith, hope, and love.

If I had enough faith and hope, and I had not love, I would be nothing. Since I have not enough of all three, I am less than nothing. I do not see how I can be less than nothing and be very much of a pacifist. I cry peace, peace, and there is no peace. I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and there is no peace. I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and there is no peace. I feed the poor and give my body to be burned, and there is no peace. Since I believe that what the Lord said is true and righteous altogether, I am compelled to believe that the reason there is no peace is that I have not enough faith, hope, and love to be very much of a pacifist.

The pacifist organizations I belong to are hopelessly small. I want them to be bigger, but I know that if they were bigger with people like me, they would only be hopelessly big. The pacifist organizations to which I belong are hopelessly inactive, but if they were activated by people like me they would only be hopelessly active. How shall I get the faith, hope, and love that I need to be a peacemaking pacifist?

I have violated the Selective Service Act of 1948 and the Internal Revenue Act of the same year, but there is no peace. I shall continue to violate them, and there will be no peace; none in the world, and none in me. Why did I violate these Acts if I am less than nothing? What witness have I borne, and to whom? What difference would it have made if I had done otherwise? If I have done the right things for the wrong reasons, will I change the heart of the world? As long as I am less than nothing, does it matter what I do?

Why do I not dissociate myself from all these organizations until such time as I have faith, hope, and love? I am not worthy enough now to belong to them; still, I am even less worthy to spurn them. I shall continue to be

MM

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a Fellow of Reconciliation, a War Resister, and a Peacemaker, but I lean on these organizations, not they on me. My pride holds me to them. I am proud of being a pacifist. How do I differ from the legendary Franciscan who thumped his chest and shouted, "I am the humblest member of the humblest Order in the world"?

Why do I dissociate myself from Communists? Why do I say that Communists are evil when I myself have not faith, hope, and love? Why do I say that I cannot work with them when all the while I am thanking God that I am not as they are? Why do I want to keep my skirts clean instead of my heart?

Bound to Earth

Let me tell you why. I am still bound to earth. I want to be popular without deserving to be popular. I want to be a moral leader without being moral. I want to be effective without being affected. I want to seem to be what I'm not. I want to make fools of other men and remain a fool in my heart.

I want to argue with Reinhold Niebuhr, but where do I want to argue? Alone, on my knees, where I might in fact overcome him? No, I want to argue with him in *Life* magazine, where *he* argues. I want to be *like* him. I want to be effective. And I don't want to pray.

My faith is weak. I want to be effective; how much of what I do would I do if I knew that what I do would not be effective? I talk about a Gandhian movement when I know that with me in it there will be none. I talk about India because India was effective; and when it isn't, as I think it won't be, then I will talk about something else. If I had faith, would I talk at all until I had perfect faith? Who hears me? Why do I shout?

If I had faith, would I do what I do to be seen of men? Would I picket and get myself arrested and say I had thus got publicity for the cause? If I had faith, would I find it hard, as I do now, to distinguish my work for pacifism from other men's work for utilities companies or dog shows? Would I be a lobbyist? Would I be a journalist? Or would being a man of faith be a full-time job, and would my faith move me to do whatever I did? When my efforts for pacifism fail, why am I angry, and with whom? If I had faith, would I think about failure or know I had failed?

My faith is weak. So is my hope. The reason my hope is weak is that it is the hope of earth. Since mine is the hope of earth and fear now engulfs the earth, my hope is fear. We pacifists don't often remind ourselves of Gandhi's insistence that nonviolence requires faith in the living God; why not? It is because ours is the hope of earth; we want to make friends and influence people. If they will take our pledge—which is meaningless since it requires neither faith, nor hope, nor love—they are one of us and our ranks are swelled with men and women who, since they do not have the hope of heaven will abandon their hope of earth for its fears when fear engulfs us.

Hope is the knowledge that God gives us that His kingdom will come, and will come on earth as by His will and in His time. If I do not have the hope that springs from that knowledge I shall certainly be overcome by fear when fear is all around me. If my hope

is in men—not in God, but in men—I shall have no hope when men are hopeless. I shall be at war, whatever I say and whatever I do. We should not forget Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who called himself "the fighting Quaker." He had no hope; have we?

I say that if one percent or two percent of all Americans were pacifists, then there would be no war. What am I saying when I say that?—I am saying that God has no plan and no providence; I am saying that it is within the power of men and of people like me to end war; I am saying that I am God.

I Want to Contend

My faith and my hope are weak. So is my love—and the greatest of these is love. My heart is full—whose isn't?—of love for those who love me, but "if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same?" When John Foster Dulles says in March that adoption of the North Atlantic Pact means war, and when he says in May that rejection of the North Atlantic Pact means war, I want to contend with him. I want to prove to him that of two contradictory statements, both may be wrong and one must be. I want to destroy him and to gloat. I am a pacifist full of war.

If I had love, I would forget good and evil and right and wrong and injustice and justice; I would forgive those who trespass against me; I would forgive him who offends me seventy times seven. If I had love, I would be about doing what hope enables me to do; I would be casting out fear. I am not.

The fear that engulfs the world engulfs me too, and I argue that we must not have war because war will kill us. The hope of the world has given way to fear, and I batten on this fear, and feed on it, and capitalize on it. My argument for disarmament is the same as Stalin's and Truman's for armament. My agrument is fear. If I can get others to do the right things for the wrong reasons, then I can get myself to do them, and then I shall be saved without faith, hope, or love.

I Answer Loudly

They witness against me, and do I answer not? No, indeed. I answer loudly. I deny, I defend, I protest, I contend, I attack. They witness against me and I hire counsel. They witness against me and I issue statements. They witness against me and I notify the press.

I want to be effective. But I won't be, and I know that I won't be. Maybe Aristotle was wrong about contradictions, because John Foster Dulles was certainly right both in March and in May. Adoption of the North Atlantic Pact means war, and rejection of it means war. Whatever we Dulleses, we Mayers, we Stalins, and we Trumans do means war.

War must come, as it will. I shall not have enough faith, hope, and love until I have lost everything else. Until I suffer unwillingly, I will not suffer at all; though I give my body to be burned, I am nothing. Until I am destroyed, I shall not want to be born again. I am full of fear and full of war and I like it.

I believe that no man can be a pacifist without being a Christian. I wish that the fact that I am a Jew would let me out, but it doesn't; Christ came to fulfill the Jewish law. I believe that a man who talks about a higher law and

says it is made by lower creatures like him suffers the greater damnation that awaits pretenders. I believe that such a man, though he doesn't know it, pretends to be God.

Do not misunderstand me. I believe that a nonbeliever in God can *act* pacifistically. I believe that a nonbeliever can be a revolutionary. I believe that a nonbeliever can be effective. I believe that a nonbeliever can bring quiet. But only a believer can bring peace; only a believer can be a pacifist, because only belief gives a man the faith, hope, and love that brings peace. Of this I am sure, that along the way to peace a believer has got to be a socialist and a democrat and a nonracist; God will not let him ride on another man's shoulders, cast another man's vote, or see another man's skin.

Less Than Nothing

But pacifism is not the root of belief; it is the flower. It is not the beginning of Christianity, it is the ultimate term, the way of the Cross.

Even as I say I'm a sinner, some of you will say, "He doesn't really mean it, he's really a pretty good fellow," and others will say, "When he says 'I,' he means 'you,' and he's really a pretty bad fellow." You are both wrong, but I have no way of making you know it, because I am less than nothing.

Have I enough faith, hope, and love to take the way of the Cross, or only to pretend to take it? I think I have not. I may be the only one here who has not, but if there are others they alone know who they are.

I must not do nothing. I must go on, even as I am. I can't say I'm indifferent or act indifferem ly. My gospel is a social gospel. must go on, and so must we all. A that we can do is too little, be the Lord's work, man's, or tl Devil's. I know that I must on, and so must we all, tilting the wind and pouring into sieve I know that I must go on, and shall.

But where revolution is tr umphant everywhere, pacifism not. There is always less peace the world because there is alwa less peace in me. And pacifism w not be triumphant, and my cr will not be beheld until I—not yo but I—have lifted myself up to th faith, the hope, and the love fro the superabundance of which, ar only from the superabundance which, flows any action that h any meaning at all.

Fellowship

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Save the Dates

Are you kept too busy usually to work for the FOR? Too active in church, civil liberties, and so on? Will you set aside two weeks of your year specifically for peace and the Fellowship? That's Fellowship Fortnight—October 30-November 13. You'll hear all about it soon—meanwhile, save the dates.

Thawing but Unsettled

A Report on What's Happened to the Cold War

By A. J. MUSTE

SUDDENLY—OR SO IT SEEMS—the "cold war" has cooled off. The Berlin blockade has been officially lifted. American and Russian diplomats hold long conversations with each other and refrain from vitriolic speeches. The Council of the Big Four Foreign Ministers is meeting in Paris, for the first time in about a year and a half, to discuss a settlement for Germany and similar basic issues.

However, the diplomats of neither country are making a very serious effort to hide the fact that at Paris they are feeling each other out, jockeying for position in a way that makes it clear we are witnessing another phase of the power struggle or "cold war," not a cessation of the latter.

This does not necessarily mean that the new situation has nothing to recommend it from the standpoint of those who fervently hope for peace. It does mean that it will be desirable not to rush to hasty conclusions based on the emotional preferences we happen to cherish rather than on facts. I surmise, for example, that those Americans who say, "This shows that the men in the Kremlin really are reasonable and want peace and now we ought to meet the Communists half-way and find means of working together with them" are drawing conclusions as unwarranted as those of Americans who think Russia has been licked by our "get-tough" policy, and that we ought to have more of the same. It will lead to sounder practices in the end if we begin by trying to understand pretty objectively the changes, especially in economic conditions and in the relationship of forces in various parts of the world, which lead the two great powers and certain of the lesser ones now to make new moves in pursuit of what is called the "national interest."

The Shoe Pinches Russia

As a result of World War II and the events that followed, Russia greatly strengthened its power position, but at a high price. The Russian economy suffered immense losses during the war. Because the war was not followed by even a temporary truce, the Kremlin emphasized the restoration of heavy industry and deprived the Russian masses of the consumer goods they might otherwise have had. The resultant dissatisfaction cannot be disregarded indefinitely.

Likewise, because the Kremlin held that the restoration and improvement of its war potential was the first consideration of policy, it drew heavily upon the industrial resources of the countries in the Russian orbit. However, most of these countries were not themselves highly industrialized. Since they could not get from Russia the needed machinery and technical

aid, they faced a choice either of postponing industrialization for a long time, or of trading more extensively with the West. The Soviet-directed policy of opposition to the Marshall Plan, which made such increased trade impossible, is one of the important economic factors that have created tensions within the countries in the Soviet sphere and between these countries and Russia. The best illustration, of course, is furnished by the conflict between Tito and Stalin.

Recent developments in China fit into the picture in two somewhat contrasting ways. On the one hand, the tremendous extent of the Communist victory creates tasks and problems for the Russian government and for the international Communist movement, which lead Russian strategists to desire freedom to concentrate their forces there and to have a relatively quiet situation in Europe for a time. In the economic sphere China may well need capital and technical aid, which Russia cannot supply in full, from the United States and other Western countries. Here as in Europe, therefore, considerations of international trade may lead the Kremlin to desire a rapprochement with the United States.

On the other hand, the smashing Communist victory in China enables the Soviet leaders to make concessions and accept temporary retreat or halting of its advance in Europe, without losing face.

And the United States

In American policy developments also economic considerations are of decisive importance. Whether or not the "recession" or "disinflation" assumes large proportions, it is evident that the postwar boom has ended. The point at which American business has t accept governmental—"socialistic —controls or keep the militar budget within present bounds ha probably been reached.

The date is approaching whe the Marshall Plan program is sup posed to end, but Western Europ can achieve real economic recov ery, and so dispense with Ameri can aid, only if it can resume trad with Eastern Europe. That trad has lagged woefully both becaus of the Russian attitude and be cause the United States impose tight restrictions on the export t the Russian zone of goods tha might build Russia and its satel lites up in a military sense. Now however, restoration of East-Wes trade is desired by the Unite States as it is by Russia. It can b restored only through the altera tion of political and military fac tors—that is, if a truce is arrange between the two powers.

The United States finds its face saving element—which enables th Administration to overcome or si lence the extreme anti-Russian pro-preventive war forces—in th "success" of the Berlin airlift, th new "reasonableness" displayed b the Kremlin, the halting of the ad vance of Communist parties i Western Europe, and other suc developments.

What the precise form of a "understanding" between Russi and the United States may be, onl persons very much on the insid both of the Kremlin and the Pen tagon can guess. What is import ant is to see that we are enterin on a new phase in the strugg between the great powers, rathe than a liquidation of that conflic Many problems remain unsolve and new ones are emerging, an these will have to be solved befor

anyone can reasonably assume that we have got our feet at last on the way to peace.

To illustrate. This rapprochement is taking place, as we have pointed out, when economic conditions have forced both nations to modify their course. But it also comes when Russia has pretty well consolidated its position in Eastern Europe and the United States in the West. It comes at a time when Russia is purging all "uncertain" elements, including scientists and literary men, and when the United States has carried very far a similar purge of Communist and other "unreliable" elements, creating in the process something of a reign of terror in intellectual circles and among atomic scientists. Molotov cannot see why any but Communists or political neutrals should get or give education in Russia. Senator Vandenberg regards it as equally unthinkable that the government should grant a scholarship to a Communist physicist even for research that does not have the remotest bearing upon military security.

To cite another instance: the Russian regime wants to cut the expenses of war preparations and figures that it can afford to do so since it can count on Communist penetration and the "inevitable" eventual collapse of capitalism to achieve its ends. The Truman administration also has to hold down the costs of war preparations. It proceeds, therefore, to unify the armed services and to emphasize atomic and biological weapons, research in supersonic weapons, and land-based air forces, as against large-scale stockpiling of expensive materiel and weapons, building expensive supercarriers, developing big land forces, and so on. The idea is not to get out of the war business but to conduct it more efficiently and cheaply.

"I think these lectures on world affairs are splendid, Bessie . . . it gives us a chance to be just as confused as our husbands."
Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate

In this connection, Percy Winner reports[1] that the decision to go through with the talks with Russia and to make them public was made "when the U. S. Air Force in Europe, always lukewarm about Clay and the ground-soldiers," withdrew its support from "the Hoover-Draper-Clay cartelists" and threw it instead to "the Fair Dealers who have been forging to the front in the White House"!

I. F. Stone in *The Daily Compass*[2] sheds further light on certain forces at work in the situation

1 *The Armistice of the Giants*, by Percy Winner, *New Republic*, May 23, 1949.
2 May 20, 1949.

when he points out that John J. McCloy, newly designated High Commissioner for Germany, and Eugene R. Black, his successor as president of the World Bank, are both "Chase National Bank men, and Chase National is the Rockefeller bank, the Wall Street branch of the Standard Oil Trust." In a sense they replace Forrestal and Draper, both Dillon, Read men. When certain American business interests and the Air Force get together, this may well represent an important change in war strategy. Few will think it means that peace-waging is taking the place of war.

Not Our Boys

A crude and terrible comment on this trend toward streamlining American war preparations was made by Rep. Clarence Cannon, chairman of the important House Appropriations Committee, when the House adopted a sixteen-billion-dollar war appropriation bill with only nominal opposition. Said Mr. Cannon:

> Moscow and every other center in Russia, we must hit within one week after the war starts, and it can be done only by land-based planes such as we now have.
>
> We will not necessarily have to send our land army over there. In the next war, as in the last war, let us equip soldiers from other nations and let them send their boys into the holocausts instead of sending our own boys. That is what long-range planes mean.[3]

We should not make a whipping-boy of Representative Cannon. Objectively—apart from the subjective motivations of individual Americans—the policy of the United States in two World Wars has been exactly the one Mr. Cannon describes. War being what is, we shall in the future also, war continues at all, try to wrea the maximum destruction on th enemy at the lowest possible co to ourselves, even if this means high cost for our allies. Apart fro this, however, such a statemer coming from a spokesman for th Administration sheds a vivid ligh upon some implications of the na tion's present course.

The Cannon statement als points directly to another crucia phase of our analysis of curren developments: that these develop ments, though they represent a re laxation of the "cold war," in n sense provide the basis for a rea solution of the problems of th Western European peoples.

Politically and militarily, Grea Britain after the war would hav liked to play its classic role of bal ancing Continental and other pow ers against each other, thus retain ing the decisive voice for itsel With the disintegration of its ow empire and the rise of the Unite States and Russia, however, Britai could no longer carry off this par Consequently, both Britain an France, perhaps in alliance wit the Benelux and Scandinavia countries, sought to constitute "third force," presumably to im pose restraint on both Russia an the United States and thus cor tribute to world peace, but also i order to play the two powers o against each other for the benef of the "third force."

But even together France an Britain and the rest have not bee powerful enough to manage th role. Western Europe has bee drawn into the American orbit surely as Eastern Europe into th Russian. These nations are powe less to protest against such humi

[3] *New York Times*, April 14, 1949.

iating statements as Cannon's. They even "have to like them," as is strikingly illustrated by a recent article in the American press[4] by R. H. S. Crossman, leader of the "Keep Left" section of the British Labor Party M.P.s, who not so long ago vigorously contended that Britain must not be subservient to capitalistic United States. After a recent visit to the United States this British left-winger sings a new tune:

> One very simple reason why most Americans—and the whole of American labor—desire the end of the cold war, is that they are paying for it, whereas Western Europe is benefiting from it. Before we talk any more about "the American vested interest in Marshall aid," we should remember there is a much stronger case for the suspicion that Britain has a vested interest in American-Russian dissension.

Mr. Crossman is wrong, of course, in suggesting that European *peoples* have benefited by the cold war. So precarious is the situation of the dying French and British *empires,* however, that their position in the general pattern of big power relationships is more favorable if Russia and the United States do not exercise a virtual joint rule over the world. There is, therefore, a sense in which they fear a U.S.-Russian rapprochement.

Collaboration Coming?

For example, the Russians would like to see the end of French and British colonialism. Traditionally, Americans are also anti-colonialists. For the time being, Russia and the United States may want to play ball in China and elsewhere in Asia, Russia for a space encouraging American trade in the Orient by acquiescing in a modernized "Open Door" policy. Unquestionably, such factors weaken the French and British position in the Orient. As someone has graphically put it: "The difference between what happened to the British warships on the Yangtze and the American warships at Shanghai is simply this; the British fought and will not return: the Americans did not fight and will return."

In Europe, if the United States does not put a considerable amount of money into rearmament—and Congress is patently reluctant to vote substantial military aid—and does not maintain a considerable military establishment of its own in Europe, the Atlantic Pact will amount to an American pledge not to prevent Russian seizure of Europe, but to avenge the fallen Continent afterward. In effect, that is what Representative Cannon offers Europeans.

It is a dismal prospect. But any attempt to build a military bulwark against Russia would bankrupt Western Europe!

The British economic position is already serious. In April there was a drop of nearly $90 million in exports. This meant that the trade deficit which was already $90 million in March increased to over $160 million in April! South Africa, according to the Financial Section of the *New York Times,* is undoubtedly facing an economic crisis and "difficulties in balances of payments are developing elsewhere within the Empire beyond Britain's capacity to control."

Underneath and involving America's relation with all other countries, is the dilemma the *Manchester Guardian* recently described in graphic terms. Europe, it suggested, must expand exports and cur-

[4] *New Republic,* May 30, 1949.

tail imports or go on borrowing. The United States must expand imports and perhaps curtail exports—or it must go on lending. To remove Europe's dollar deficit, it would actually have to sell 300 percent more than now in the American market!

But the United States wants to expand its exports, not its imports. It not only does not want to go on lending, it wants to keep down competitors for its markets!

The German Problem

Space permits only the briefest reference to the other crucial factor in this analysis, viz., that recent developments in no sense insure a solution of the problem of Germany, and that in the framework of thought and policy that now prevails in the world no solution is possible.

Here again one runs up against the toughest dilemmas. If the European economy is to be revived, German economy must be revived. That also means that Germany must be politically independent and united. But a prosperous, independent and united Germany can hardly be kept from acquiring that other attribute of sovereign and self-respecting nations, a suitable military establishment. Unless Germany is a military bulwark against Russia and communism, the United States and Western Europe will not feel "safe." But if it is capable of functioning in this way, it could also turn around and again make a pact with Russia. If Germany again is pointed at Russia, that means revival of German cartelism and some form of neo-Nazism. If Germany is free to trade with Russia, it may be drawn into the Russian orbit. If its trade is restricted and its standard of living remains low, that will give the Communists a chance, too. And so on and on and on.

To deal with even a minimum degree of adequacy with the inevitable question, "Well, what do *you* propose?" would require another article. Furthermore, an outline of the alternative program pacifists would propose has been given before in FELLOWSHIP. Only a few practical observations seem to me to be called for at this particular moment.

We do probably have a breathing spell ahead. For that we may be thankful. We ought to use it to win individuals to pacifism and to win the churches and the nation to a pacifist program. We ought not to be diverted from concentration on this program, because there simply is no solution for the world's ills within the context of war, nationalism and economic exploitation.

We need to guard against the temptation to advocate partial measures if they compromise us and obscure our real message. To illustrate, pacifists will be inclined to oppose military aid to Europe. Why indeed should a pacifist ever favor a military appropriation? But taken by itself the refusal to give military aid to Europe will no matter how it is camouflaged be an implementation of Mr. Cannon's "Not Our Boys" policy. I confess I have no stomach for arguing against a given appropriation in such a context. If the reader suggests that voting the appropriation will represent essentially the same policy, my reply is, "Precisely, and that is why as pacifists we nearly always must argue not for or against this specific military appropriation but always against all."

Finally, the way to demonstrate our love for the truth and for Russians, Communists and fellow-travelers in the realm of political action is to devote ourselves unflaggingly to opposing every suggestion for war against Russia and all war preparations and to oppose all repressive measures against Communists and fellow-travelers, while still declining to collaborate organizationally with them.

This is not at all a counsel to avoid personal contacts. It would be highly desirable to increase such contacts. But organizational collaboration is ruled out for a number of what seem to me conclusive reasons.

We do not want to help Communists to gain control over American unions, for example, or over the nation itself. We are not interested in improving the power-position of the American war-making state as over against Russia; but no more do we want to strengthen the Russian power position as over against the United States. It cannot but obscure and stultify our pacifist witness to collaborate with those Americans who oppose an American war against Russia, but openly support the war being waged by the Chinese Communists today and frankly declare that if tomorrow Russia and the United States are at war they will be on the side of the former.

I am sure it is a great mistake to suppose that Communists are impressed or "reconciled" by people who are drawn into united fronts. They are realists and in their own way they are people who have an unconditional devotion to principle. It has often been observed that they get along surprisingly well with certain business men. That is because the latter are also realists and unsentimental.

We may be sure that Communists also respect pacifists who treat them as human beings but who remain true to their principle and will not compromise it. That is convincingly demonstrated in their attitude toward some of our European Fellowship people. They want to convert us. They have every right to try. But if we mean what we say about the pacifist faith or the Christian way of life, then it is our mission to convert them and that will not be done by sentimental behavior and by befogging the issue and the profound differences between our ways of life and our faiths.

The only hope for the survival of democracy and for peace is in a movement of people in all countries who will deal the deathblow to dictatorship and war because they will not obey or support their own or any other dictatorship or militarism. The only genuine alternative to Lenin is Gandhi. That is why we in this country have to divorce ourselves much more completely than we have done from any support of or compromise with American war-preparations. That is why we must—nationally and above all in our local communities—defend the civil liberties of Communists who do not believe in civil liberties: that is the acid test of our devotion to the democratic idea. That is also why we shall be depriving the Russian people and the Communists of *their* one hope of salvation if we ever furnish any ground for the idea that we do not condemn Russian militarism and Communist violence as unconditionally as any other.

Inside 2929 Broadway

By GEORGE (GUNTHER) HOGLE

George Hogle spent almost four years in CPS, and on his release in 1946 *went to Europe with the AFSC. In* 1947 *he was loaned to the German FOR to work with its then Chairman, Pastor Wilhelm Mensching. He returned to this country in August* 1948. *Since last fall he has been studying and working for the IFOR from this side of the ocean.*

I LANDED IN NEW YORK, like many another returning relief worker, restless and uneasy, and inclined to be critical of the complacency and comparative wealth of all Americans, including peace workers.

Germany was my beat. There I met men and women of simplicity and great humanness, who had endured what seemed to me incredible experiences.

In a cold, cramped room where he could offer me to eat only dried apples, oats, and a few precious things received from America, one Quaker told me of the night he was carried off to Buchenwald for publishing "subversive" pacifist material. Three years he spent in that hell, at the hardest manual labor, under starvation conditions and brutal supervision, yet hardly had he been liberated by the Americans and his health partly recovered when he was hard at work again getting out his beloved Quaker and FOR literature!

Then there was Pastor M., who before and during the war, at great risk to his life, preached international and pacifist sermons from his pulpit, hid Russian soldiers and Jews in his house even while Nazi soldiers were quartered there, was threatened and had his house searched, and was attacked and beaten on the street, as was his daughter. He is carrying on in some of the most important peace work in Europe today—a peace school.

And, Prof. S., who had practically been escorted to the Swiss border by the Gestapo in 1934, returned from exile to broken Germany as soon as possible after the war. In spite of his age and one crippled leg, he went under most difficult traveling conditions all about the country investigating needs and carrying a message of hope. Then, against great odds, he started a school in Dortmund for training case workers to handle juvenile delinquency—a project of A-1 priority in Germany. I saw the currency reform a year ago almost wipe it out financially, and then as in a story book saw a contribution from the FOR War Victims Fund rescue it just at the crucial moment.

In personal conversation with a number of others both inside and outside Germany, I heard equally magnificent stories of great personal sacrifice in the cause of Truth and of Peace.

So when I came back to these shores last fall I saw for the first time how fantastically rich and utterly prodigal we are in contrast t

the rest of the world, and how easy Americans—even American pacifists—have it. I came, too, with the profound conviction that more than anything else in the world peace mattered now. Whether you bought a few new things or made a few plans for the future, it was all quite irrelevant if *IT* broke out again. Seventy-one of seventy-four German cities in smithereens—and from *old-fashioned* weapons! There was an extra desk at the national FOR office, and I got permission to park there for awhile, and look around. People got used to me there, and soon I found myself on a couple of committees.

No Eight-Hour Day

I began to meet the members of the staff—your staff. Until then they had been only signatures at the bottom of a letter, or voices on the telephone, or less. I suppose I assumed that they all lived conventional family lives, with eight-hour work days and normally mechanized American households. But then I stayed late at the office occasionally, and discovered others were staying, too. I began to appreciate how many additional projects would never be done if there were not big chunks of overtime put in, and what it means to go out night after night, speaking or to a committee meeting, after a full day at the office.

FOR salary schedules make no provision for overtime. In fact, the entire personnel, including field secretaries, gets the same basic subsistence wage, plus allowance for dependents. Specifically, the Executive Secretary gets the same as anyone else with the same size family—and this basic amount was increased only negligibly during all the rise in living costs.

The first impression you get from this salary policy is of a really democratic economic community, living up to high religious ideals. There is evident everywhere, real warmth and cooperative friendship.

Then you begin to sense the sacrifice these particular individuals are making when you find out that they get no social security or other pension benefits. You can't save much in high-cost New York City out of a wage equal to about what an unskilled laborer gets nowadays! One of the staff who has been here several years has scarcely been able to buy any new clothes in all that time and was fortunate in that he had a fairly new and complete wardrobe when he began here. Another lives in a tenement area, in the lower back part of a building where it is always dark and damp. Some of his furniture he found on the street, took in and repaired. Just subway fare for a month or buying a newspaper regularly is often a very real consideration.

The point of all this is that there is very real sacrifice and dedication right here in America, too, and perhaps it is good that occasionally we in the FOR be introduced to those individuals who are carrying the brunt of the battle for peace. I am thrilled when I realize that practically every one of the people working at 2929 Broadway and in the field is a person of high capabilities who could command a good deal more materially elsewhere.

I have seen the minds of these leaders at work. They are among the very best in the whole peace movement. One is an authority on peace movements in the rest of the world, and has done much to

launch them in other continents. Another is one of the real authorities on the military in this country. Two others are pioneers in the field of race relations and the techniques of nonviolent resistance for the United States. They are constantly advancing the growing edge of real pacifist action and thinking. The new office manager left a good job in verdant, generous California to come back here and handle the hard technical problems of the organization.

The rest of the staff, the secretaries in the field battling it out alone, the secretaries and clerks, are all pretty terrific in one way or another. Binding every one together is a deep religious concern, which in a devotional way manifests itself every day at noon in the office in a short service. There are people of several different racial and national origins.

The Lean Year

At the recent annual staff and National Council meetings, I had a chance to observe in sharp focus the personnel and work and activities of the Fellowship. It was then too, that I heard how even more than most summers, this is a very lean financial period, brought on not only by a general reduction in giving but by the increased cost of operation. Larger givers, apparently unable to carry so much of the load any more, have cut their gifts almost in half so far.

All during the subsequent meetings, the concern kept coming to me that all the members of the FOR ought to know about these things. Finally I talked with the editor of FELLOWSHIP, and out of that came a conspiracy that I should write and he publish this article, without the knowledge of the rest of the staff of what was going to be in it. (I would like to have included comments about him too, and his ability to command far more elsewhere than he gets here, but he would probably make me take it out of the article.)

Sometimes in the past I have doubted the effectiveness of the FOR—the relevance of its tiny efforts against the immense crisis of our day. I wish that I had not doubted. If there has been a lack in effectiveness, it is because I and many others have not been adequate to the leadership. We have not supported it nationally and locally as it deserves.

As a pacifist I sometimes say of the general public: "They all want peace but they do not want to do the things that make for peace." Now I am wondering: do *I* really want peace, or am I unwilling to share some more? How big is my sacrifice when I think that most of the men on the FOR staff, besides everything else, have already been in or are risking prison at any time for their beliefs?

It keeps coming back to me, two pictures. One, acres of destroyed buildings—in just one nation 71 out of 74 cities in shambles. The other, gaunt faces rising out of rags —eleven million expelled refugees from the East, uprooted by hatred.

How much more strength we could put into the hands of the FOR staff if we could assure them a balanced (and even expanding!) budget each year. If each member gave at least three cents a day continually, that would achieve the goal.

P.S. At last week's office devotions the thought for meditation was "The paychecks probably will be late next week."

The Slow, Long Burning

A poem by

SARAH CLEGHORN*

A slow, long burning took place in me.
We were good children
In a good family.
So were the neighbors good.
People kept promises, and did kind things.
Quiet, conservative goodness was usual.

And there was beauty! Deep, warm evergreens,
Light in the west, rapture in the summer,
My father's lap, and my dear little brother.

I saw the poor, I pitied and loved them;
I shared my pennies,
And thought myself a religious fairy,
Easily kind, and fondly beloved.

For all my conceit,
I saw the sweet beauty in kindness and love.

When we learned history, we found bad people;
Kings, in particular.
But we Smiths and Joneses, in France and America,
Had triumphed over kings!
Wasn't that glorious?

Glory was a thing in books; not a thing we knew ourselves,
A common thing, as beauty is.

But faults were plentiful
In our experience;
Not only in people, but also in nature.
Not only our President, Garfield, was killed,
But we had a hurricane!

There was even a bird
That impaled a littler bird on a thorn,
To die so slowly;
To hurt so long!

* Now in her 70's, Sarah Cleghorn has been a staunch pacifist and socialist since before World War I, and is a poet of national reputation.

We children had faults, our parents found;
And even our parents, we found, had some;

But Oh, they were loving! With strength so gentle,
With frolics and comforts, they cared for their children.

King Charles of England, King Louis of France,
So wrong, we beheaded them—
They too had been loving and dear to their children.

The slow, long burning gave off a flame;
Those kings were bad, but those kings were good!
What reward did they have for their goodness?

There in our histories—Oh how sickening!
We, we Americans—
Yes, George Washington—
We'd had slavery.

That was a pretty bad fault. Such a long one.
We owned them, and worked them, for two hundred years.
Still nobody'd said—
Nobody'd thought—
Why, nobody *could* think, that we—
What? we Americans were bad people?
People who ought to be punished?

A flame speared up
Just for a minute, from the long, slow burning;

But No! for we Northerners,
After that long while, cast off slavery,
First from ourselves, and then, most bravely
Washed the whole country clean.

Sherman went marching through Georgia!
(How cruelly, we didn't know then.)

So the flame died down.
But the smoulder thickened,
And once in a while rolled up to the blue, blue sky of youthful happiness.

Nobody punished us.

Before we were confirmed
By the gentle old Bishop,
We knew—Oh how hideous!

That we Episcopalians, we Presbyterians,
Had beaten the Quakers—
Tortured the Jesuits—
Protestants and Catholics had burned the Baptists;

And over and over and over and over again,
We Christians burned the Jews.

Burned the writers of the Bible.
The home folks of Jesus.

(They never punished us.)

We thought of it sometimes;
But when we started singing
"The Church's one Foundation is Jesus Christ her Lord;
From heaven He came and sought her to be His holy Bride,"
We every one forgot it.

Still my smouldering fire smoked thicker and thicker;
"If I'd been alive then, what would I have done?"

I felt a strange, dark, troubling beauty
Searching inside of me for what I would have done!
What would I have dared to do?
At last, to some extent,
I hushed it down.

Along in the 'Nineties
Came a hoarse whisper to our front porch
Of brutal policemen;
And we saw cities, their grimy hindquarters, in milewide miles
Of our few short travels,
As well as the pillared, porticoed, sunshiny Parks and Places.

And reading Mrs. Trollope on us Americans
I winced; but I questioned
"Weren't we what her own folks,
The British,
Became, in a country enormous and new?"

And after a while,
"Aren't slums what farm children sink down to
In cities too dreary?"

And a long while after,
"Do we wade through our faults like the summer through March,
Its mud and its rubbish,
Till we come to the million daisies of June?

Are we wading through now, we Americans,
Still wading through the mud and the rubbish of slavery—
(What else is race prejudice?)
Till we come to a clean, green meadow?"

"Perhaps, I thought, we'd be there now,
If Sherman hadn't marched through Georgia."

A friend now I had;
Impossible for any friend ever to be dearer;
So then in our twenties;
So now, nearing seventy;

Her little children
Were never once punished;
Never were mortified
By father or by mother;
How bright a flame came sparkling up through my long smoulder

And going often to a jail,
All one winter,
Sometimes on my calling day I found twelve murderers.

Whatever were the deeds they'd done,
When you looked at their pale faces,
Mingled, human as your own,
They never looked contentedly
Or eagerly,
Triumphantly—
They never looked determined to be bad!
But they looked, I thought, as we feel, ourselves,
Waking, startled, in the night,
At how *our* decencies can shrivel!
Our proud standards droop!

—Waking shocked, and needing someone
We can bare our weakness to,
And still be comforted by his then telling us
"You've done bad deeds; but you're not bad people;"

Ah! *Someone's understanding that we're good!*

Such were the frosts
That killed my fairy garden,
Burning with a sweet, cold blackness their
"One kind of good people, another kind of bad people,"
Of whom I, nearing forty,
Had seen neither one!—

But great was the beauty
Of those frost-killing mornings,
Their blue and their russet, their bracing bright air;
There was truth in the bright, living air;
There was lovely Equality there;
We all could be comrades as never before,
In the mingled human nature that we all, all bore;
Our goodness and badness enfolding us together,
In the coat of many colors that we wore.

And I saw, "It's our goodness that wades through our faults,
Like the grass glinting up through the stubble."

Still, only half weathered
To lovely Equality,
Having joined the Socialists the year before
Our backward reeling to the first world war,

I thought, "We Socialists
Are really good people!
Through this bloody fashion we hold up high
Our hand-clasping emblem of peace."

So the great Revolution in Russia,
And its swift, mighty echo in Germany,
Rose on my heart like a sunrise;
And up again sprouted my old fairy garden,
With "Good people yonder," and "bad people hither";

While deep below its shallow roots and high above its papery leaves,
Nature went on growing her faulty, good people,
Her millions of mixtures, no two ever matching in birthright and circumstance;
Her wide old forest, so deep, warm, comforting;
Evergreen equality.

Still freshly divided
We always were being;
Now the little bank of struggling peacemakers
In every country,
Wrestled with the stranglehold of rulers, rulers, rulers,
Who kept the obedient of all those countries
Killing each other for being obedient.

And I, much loving
A comrade peacemaker,
Once again thought, ardent with tenderness,
"Sometimes there IS a light outshining
Our common nature!
Human? Intensely!
But eminent in *hardly* soiled, in *almost* cloudless goodness;
When he must die, the trumpets all will sound for *him*
Beyond the border!"

In a dream it gently came,
A thread of wise and tender flame;
"He too is touched, he too is mortal;
Leave him in the common throng;
There he loves—aspires!—to be;
Let him wear our many-colored
Human coat, Equality."

Further backward now we've reeled;
Sunk our Age in global madness;
Bombing, burning mothers, children, harshening life for half mankind.
Over us the mighty Atom could have poured, like gentle Ceres' horns of plenty;
How came we to rear a scaffold for it,
Mankind's executioner?

Still the forest, human nature, keeps on growing;
Up it spreads, our tough, prolific, faulty goodness;
Thrusting, leafing, flowering, fruiting, branching toward the Atom,
Shuddering . . . . . hoping . . . . .
Shuddering lest we ever try to punish one another Any more;
Hoping we can share, and understand; encourage, comfort; make—*and beg*—
Allowance for.

In our Common Heart, Oh slow, long burning of my own heart
You have taught me soberly to trust
And not despair.
In that Heart grow stubborn hopes,
Reaching high above, and rooting far, far underneath the pliant Mind;
Gentled lives; and shared desires; and humble bliss—
(Oh, will Youth fertilize their soil?)

Can . . . .

Harvest . . . . .

There.

Just Among Ourselves

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

The Associate Secretary reports on the status of the Fellowship.

IN SIX MONTHS we shall be halfway through the 20th Century, and much time and energy will be given to assessing the situation, reflecting on the past and guessing about the future. In the FOR we go through such a reflecting and guessing stage twice every year, in May and December. So this past May, as in previous years, we gathered the staff together, from as far away as California, and, thirteen strong, invaded the domain of General Eisenhower, holding our sessions in one of Columbia University's ivied buildings.

Here's what we learned. During the school year we had visited 202 colleges and theological schools, organized 21 student FOR groups, and sponsored seven student peace conferences.

In the course of this college work we discovered that the two major concerns of students today are militarism and race relations. A student in California was expelled because he wouldn't take ROTC. University of Wisconsin men students voted 3,609 to 1,522 against their compulsory ROTC system. Oberlin College decided by a 63 to 59 faculty vote not to bring ROTC to the campus; more than 800 students had signed a petition against it. At Ohio Wesleyan, where the new President virtually railroaded a decision for ROTC through the faculty and board of trustees, 500 students protested the action in a poll which also revealed 505 students backing the President, 130 undecided and 350 not voting.

In all of these cases, FOR staff and members had spearheaded the action. Information of interest to students including research on racial quotas, ROTC, and military subsidies, was sent regularly in a four-page bulletin called *Peace Notes* to 2,000 student and faculty members of the FOR and to 1,300 non-members.

Theology with Zest

In college and out we found people eager to explore the meaning of life, and we were driven back constantly to reexamine the roots of our own faith. Heretofore, although we had a normal healthy interest in religion, some of us looked on theology as a diet chiefly for theologians. But now the staff and the National Council, which also met in May, discussed theology with zest, asked why the pacifist theologians hadn't given us more leadership, and ended by deciding to ask local FOR groups to study and explore their own theological assumptions. As one member put it, "You don't have to be a theologian to have a spiritual experience or to explore the meaning of God and Man."

After a bit of chest-thumping

about not needing to wait for help from the theologians, we moved quickly to endorse the report of the Church and Pacifism Committee, outlining plans for an ambitious "Church and War" conference early in 1950 under the leadership of "some of our outstanding pacifist theologians." But we did not beat a complete retreat, for we decided to participate with the (non-theological) Quakers as well as other church groups in planning for the event.

Nor was this all. We were reminded that Cecil Hinshaw, former President of William Penn College, was trying in three months' time to carry the pacifist message to the churches. He is doing a powerful job. A few others are also active in this field. For example, in one week one staff member spoke to a regional Moravian ministers' meeting, an Annual Conference of Methodists, and a District Conference of the Church of the Brethren.

George Houser, who has been serving as the Secretary of the Church and Pacifism Committee, also came through as usual in his race relations work. It wasn't really "as usual" though, for his colleague, Bayard Rustin, had been in India since September, hobnobbing with Prime Ministers, Brahmins, Untouchables, Princes—in fact with everybody except soldiers. (Not that he has anything against soldiers, but you just don't run into many soldiers when analyzing the whys and wherefores of Indian pacifism.) With Bayard away, George had to do double duty. But he did it—putting on weekend race relations workshops in New Castle and Muncie, Indiana; Boston, Massachusetts, and Lawrence, Kansas. In addition h organized some local and stat groups to do a continuing race re lations job. This month he will als be directing a month-long work shop in the nation's capital.

While Bayard was in India h got word that he must spend thir ty days on a North Carolina road gang for sitting where he wasn' supposed to, in a Southern bus When he came home he served hi time. As we would expect, thing happened. They still have chai gangs in North Carolina, but Bay ard Rustin may have set in motio a chain of events that will hav repercussions.

Nevin Sayre, who spent almos two months traveling in the West also told us of some advance made by the International FOR. A German conference held afte Easter with ninety persons present the publication of our first maga zine for Roman Catholics, *Chris Und Welt,* the strong protest o Kerk en Vrede (the Dutch FOR) over the use of force in Indonesia were among the many events. I our own country, the FOR Gif Parcels and Gift Literature pro grams are functioning effectively under the direction of Emily Parker Simon and Grace Rhoads Mrs. Simon estimates that at leas 1,000 persons supplied with foreig addresses and information from ou Gift Parcels headquarters ar sending packages overseas with fair degree of regularity.

Recently a new plan based o group-to-group fellowship and ai has been adopted. Thirty loca groups of the British FOR hav been sending direct help to thirt FOR groups in Germany. A sub committee, headed by Emily Si mon, has been organized to stim

ulate volunteering by American groups for similar service.

Out in the Field

Regional work in the United States has moved forward under the able leadership of Glenn Smiley among the orange blossoms and olive branches of Southern California; the just-as-able leadership of Orval Etter, whose area extends from Northern Montana and Washington to central California; and the no-less-able leadership of Ab Watson, a recent Canadian immigrant to the Midwest. The newest regional secretary is Charles Walker, who has been boosting our student work in Ohio and Pennsylvania, as well as giving one-third time to the Philadelphia FOR. It is in these regions that the real work is done, where the 160 regularly meeting local FOR groups are serviced (and where more than a hundred other groups should be organized if only because there is a concentration of five or more members in each of 117 places).

There are glamorous projects as well as the day-to-day organizing. In the Southwest the FOR has worked with some of the Indian tribes, including the pacifist Hopis. We cooperated in sponsoring an important Congress of Indians a few months ago. The Southwestern region is contemplating a project for providing goats and agricultural equipment for a small dispossessed tribe of the original Americans. It is really a project in reconciliation, since they are former enemies who lost the war!

Still another interesting project in the Southwest was the 26-mile poster walk against UMT led by Glenn Smiley, the weightiest member of our staff. Despite the hike Glenn is still the weightiest member of our staff.

There are still some unorganized regions, notably New England, the South, and the Rocky Mountain area. National Staff members visited New England on at least five field trips. In the South Margaret McCulloch has been working on a volunteer basis, editing a Southern regional newsletter, *The Cotton Patch*, and cooperating with Glenn Smiley, Orval Etter, and other staff members who have come South for field trips.

FELLOWSHIP magazine speaks for itself, though I can't help inserting this Subhead about that Conscientious Combatant, the Editor, whose pen would be mightier than the sword if more FOR members would see that what he writes and edits gets widely distributed where it counts. A recent survey of many libraries that get FELLOWSHIP drew an enthusiastic response from almost all with a report that the magazine was widely used by students in particular. The Toledo and some Southern California FOR groups have placed FELLOWSHIP in libraries in their vicinity.

Not only for FELLOWSHIP but for pamphlets written by various members of the staff, there is steady research at the National Office on problems like militarism, military alliances, disarmament, racial patterns.

It isn't possible to write much about the work of the Fellowship without referring to Father Abraham, sometimes known as A. J. He not only speaks to colleges and churches but also to the staff, sharpening our pacifism, guiding us through difficult personal and organizational problems, somehow

finding time to write a pamphlet like *How to Deal With Dictators,* or to prepare policy statements on various issues. He has maintained contact with about 150 atomic scientists who have rejected work on mass destruction weapons. In addition he has devoted a considerable amount of time to helping nonregistrants and others active in civil disobedience to war and conscription. At the Cleveland Study Conference, in statements on the North Atlantic Pact, and in other ways he has led in promoting the pacifist witness among the churches.

Membership Support

We have recently recounted our membership, which totals 12,587 as of the end of April. But in so doing we discovered that almost 4,000 of these had not contributed to the 1949 budget. When this was announced there was an audible and unanimous exclamation. The pessimists on the staff and Council said "Whew!" which translated means, "No wonder we are in a jam." The optimists on the other hand rejoiced, which by interpretation means, "How fortunate that they will be giving soon!"

Actually, the FOR ended the month of May about $13,000 behind where we should be if we are to continue to push forward with a vigorous program. And a vigorous program is needed now. The easing of tension between the U.S. and Russia presents an opportunity. The churches and colleges are increasingly eager for information, for voices that speak with conviction and for new ideas to counter their faltering faith in violence. Yet they have also become infected with the germs of totalitarianism, suspecting dissent and expecting conformity. Thus we may not only strike our blows for peace but for the liberties inherent in difference. In such a time our numerical inadequacies may be more than outweighed by the quality of faith we can inject into a world obsessed by fear.

In our staff and Council meetings we were very much aware of the nature and strength of the forces arrayed against us, of our inadequacy, of the feeble witness of many of our Fellowship members. We were also conscious that here and there people were pointing the way—that sacrificial living and forthright speaking were even now sowing the seeds of reconciliation.

Much more could be said about the devoted members who are in prison for conscience' sake, those who are biting their fingernails while awaiting sentence, others whose names do not appear on court records or in the public press but whose steady, constructive work may yet tip the scales in the direction of peace.

One thing above all must be added—wherever FOR members are working: in the ministry, teaching, farming, whether fighting conscription, fostering racial equality, strengthening civil liberties, or building for world government—we all agree that our primary job is to build a basic philosophy of peace to undergird all programs and blueprints with a spiritual drive and to get men to practice peace and reconciliation in their own areas of tension. Kinship in such a purpose is our common investment in a peace to which many different activities will contribute.

News from the Peace Front

Council Takes Strong Stand on Gara Case

Expressing its deep concern about the case of Larry Gara and the blow at freedom of conscience which that decision represents, the National Council of the FOR at its meetings in May passed three motions for action by the FOR organization and by individual members.

The Council voted that: 1. The National Council send a letter to the U. S. Department of Justice quoting its earlier resolution supporting COs in whatever course of action they may take as a result of their conscientious convictions, and specifically associating the Council with the principle of supporting conscientious objection as illustrated by Larry Gara's support of Charles Rickert, which the Judge stated was the crucial issue on which Gara was convicted.

2. The National Council called on all FOR members to write to the Department of Justice mentioning the FOR resolution or a similar one from their church (if there is one) and associating themselves with the Gara action in supporting Rickert.

3. The Council instructed the FOR staff as a major job to press the American Civil Liberties Union and the Federal Council of Churches to push this Gara case with the Federal government and the public, and that these groups be asked to press with the government the whole question of FBI intimidation and repression as illustrated in the Gara case, the Lindley Cook case and others. In writing the ACLU we should express our gratification for their decision to enter the Gara case as a friend of the court.

The Council heard with interest of plans for a conference on The Church's Relationship to War, which will probably be held in January or February of 1950, and voted to accept the invitation of the provisional committee for the conference to be a participating organization in such a conference. Other groups to be represented, it is hoped, will be the denominational fellowships and other religious groups.

After discussion pro and con, the Council decided that it would be well next year to have one big National Conference again, lasting for a three-day weekend, but with a smaller group to attend for the full week.

The Council expressed deep concern about the financial situation of the FOR, which is the most stringent in some years. Inflation and the rise in living costs have cut into giving while the same factors make it more difficult for staff members to get along. Various ways of raising additional money were discussed, and it was agreed that, although it was regrettable to take them away from other extremely valuable work, it would be necessary for staff members to

spend more time raising money. In addition it was hoped that the membership would take the situation to heart, and not only increase their own giving but do some active visiting or other fund-raising work.

The Council will hold its next meetings on December 1-3, 1949.

Toledo Church Council Fires Tax Refuser

The Rev. Aleck D. Dodd, head of pastoral service for the Toledo Council of Churches, whose salary was garnisheed by the Federal Government in an attempt to collect $150.47 due on his 1948 income tax, has been dismissed from his position by the Council.

After various reminders from the government he was asked to meet on May 20 with officers of the Council of Churches, who informed him that the government had put a lien on his salary. The Council took the position that the law must be observed, and suggested that he resign from his job. Mr. Dodd replied that he did not feel called on to resign, since he was acting in accordance with the dictates of his conscience. He was then informed his services were terminated as of that day.

Mr. Dodd's position previously had been strongly supported by the Toledo Ministerial Association, which passed without a dissenting vote a resolution declaring that God is the lord of conscience, and, though most of them did not agree with his position, that his right to take it should be publicly and privately upheld by the Council of Churches. On hearing of his dismissal from his job, a group of these ministers issued a statement supporting him which, when published in the newspaper, brought a fine response from the public.

Nine or ten other tax-refusers have been visited by revenue agents or written to by the Bureau of Internal Revenue in an attempt to persuade them to pay. More than twenty men and women, in addition to the 41 who signed a tax-refusal statement on March 15, have now taken the tax-refusal position. Anyone interested in further information on this subject should write to Ernest and Marion Bromley, General Delivery, Wilmington, Ohio.

Nine Nonregistrants Convicted in Indiana

Stephen Simon, Charles Frantz, Francis Henderson, William Wildman, Gerald Haynes, Rollin Pepper, Richard Shufflebarger, Amos Brokaw and Richard Graves, all nonregistrants, have been brought to trial and convicted. Armin L. Saeger, Jr., another nonregistrant who pleaded guilty, later decided to register. None of the men had yet been sentenced.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

300 Protest Participation in Pact

On April 10 a statement opposing American participation in the Atlantic Pact and signed by more than 300 Americans was made public. The letter was sponsored by James C. Baker, Bishop of Los Angeles and president of the Methodist Council of Bishops; T. O. Thackrey, former editor and publisher of the New York *Post;* and Clarence E. Pickett, secretary of the AFSC.

The letter said that "if the present pattern of measures and counter-measures by our country persists, it can lead only to a war which neither nation can win and in which mankind may be destroyed." Calling the Atlantic Pact a "further step" in that direction, it said the pact and the projected American arms aid would retard Western European recovery and "commit us to a fatal two-world policy."

Other signers included Emily Greene Balch, Thomas Mann, Artur Schnabel, Prof. Fowler Harper and Prof. Kermit Eby.

FOR Decries Repressive Measures

In a protest against the ominous increase in repressive measures in this country, particularly against Communists but also against liberals of every kind, the FOR Executive Committee in April adopted a forthright statement recording its unequivocal opposition to all such measures.

The statement declared that in foreign relations the line between the Eastern and Western blocs is being daily drawn tighter, while here at home government employes are subjected to loyalty tests, employment of many kinds is denied to members of the Communist Party and even many merely suspected of such affiliation, people are persecuted for having supported Henry Wallace, the FBI is investigating thousands of American citizens who hold or are suspected of holding opinions which are not entirely orthodox according to FBI standards, and laws to build up a formidable espionage system are rushed through Congress on the plea that discussion of such measures even by Congressmen would endanger the national security.

The FOR declared that "persecution does not accomplish the objects which those who engage in it hope for. If it did, there would be no Christian Church, and communism also would long since have been stamped out." It also warned that "the United States is in danger of being transformed into a militarized police state and a regimented society."

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FAITH; fighting in God's Army; a passionate vocation;—thereby be healed, made whole, Life Science practice: Robert Tipton, Route 3, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Norman Thomas Gives "Critical Support" to Pact

Although he criticized it at many points and strongly urged the United States to call for universal disarmament, Norman Thomas, for many years a leader of the Socialist Party, gave his support to the Atlantic Pact in his testimony on May 11 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Thomas, who stressed that he was not speaking officially for the Socialist Party but as an individual, decided to support the Pact for various reasons, the most important being that he felt the effect on liberals and Socialists in Western Europe of failure of our Government to ratify it would be disastrous. Prior to its ratification by Socialist governments in Europe he had opposed the Pact as one on the whole likely to be more dangerous than helpful. Even at that time, however, he favored a clear statement by the United States that it would regard military aggression against Western European nations as an aggression against itself. The ratification of the Pact by the Socialist countries somewhat, he says, shifted the scales in favor of our ratification of the Pact.

In his testimony and at other times he insisted that by reservation or parallel action it should be made plain that Spain would not be admitted; that in no way should America support Dutch or French colonial wars; that the Pact should increase, not decrease, military expenditures, and, above all, that there should be a continuing drive for universal disarmament under effective international control. The statement by the Senate Committee, he believes, partially meets these requirements and leaves open to us to work against b military appropriations and f universal disarmament. This, says, Americans must do.

In his testimony he warned some of the dangers of the Pac "the danger of raising false hope the danger of building up a who network of national military m chines insatiably crying for mor the danger of aggravating rath than minimizing the armame race without compensating gua antee of that precarious thing military security."

The Socialist Party's Executiv Committee issued a statement pre senting four different positions f and against the Pact which a taken by various Socialists, an warning of some of the dangers i the Pact.

Upstate Students Make Interracial Visit

On April 21 twenty-six whi boys and girls from Cortland Cou ty, in upstate New York, came New York City for a four-day st in the homes of Negro, Japanes American and Jewish students. U der the sponsorship of the Cortla Council of Churches and the I terracial Fellowship of Great New York, the project repeated similar highly successful visit year ago.

The students visited the Unit Nations, the Japanese Methodi Church, Temple Emanu-El, Co munity Church and the Abyssi ian Baptist Church, ate a sukiya dinner, saw the New York Yanke play and were given a speci showing of "The Quiet One," a fil about the problems of a Negro bo among other activities.

outhern Churchmen Plan nterracial Center

The Fellowship of Southern hurchmen, an interdenomination- l liberal group, intends to start ork this summer on an interracial llying place to be known as Fel- wship Center. Its site will be a 35-acre tract of land near Ashe- ille, N. C., purchased recently by ie group. When it is completed, ellowship Center will serve as a acation spot for Fellowship fam- ies, as headquarters for the or- anization, and eventually as a boratory for rural clergymen in ie South.

---

merican Indians in esperate Straits

Continuing a long history of uelty, neglect and mismanage- ent in its relations with Amer- an Indians, the Federal Govern- ent has allowed even the inade- uate aid it has given in past years languish. The First Interior De- artment Deficiency Appropriation ill was tied up in Congress in ay, although money for the Nava- schools had already run out the onth before. Only one-third of avajo children can go to school any case, and in April the funds r the Navajo schools were used . They were kept going after at by borrowing from various her funds available to the Nava- Service, at the suggestion of me Congressmen, who believed e Appropriation Bill would go rough soon. It did not, and the tire Navajo Service was almost oke by the middle of May.

Although conditions on the avajo reservation showed some provement last autumn, the izzards of January and February brought serious losses. Early surveys showed a loss of 3% of mature sheep and 44% loss of lambs, and sale of lambs in the fall were expected to amount to only 25% of normal in that area. This is a tremendous blow to a people already living on a marginal basis, for they depend on the fall sale of lambs for the bulk of their cash income.

On August 3, 1948, the Federal District Court in New Mexico granted Indians the franchise in that state. Indians may now vote in every state.

Church Groups Plan Joint Organization

On April 25 it was announced that a number of church groups, including the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Home Missions Council of North America, and the Missionary Education Movement, were exploring the possibility of the establishment of a National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., which would unite existing interdenominational agencies. Plans and discussions have been going forward for more than ten years, and in November and December of 1950 a Constituting Convention will be held which will formally bring the new organization into existence.

Organizations which have voted to join the new agency, in addition to the three above, are the International Council of Religious Education, the National Protestant Council on Higher Education and the United Stewardship Council. The United Council of Church Women, which has participated in the discussion, will make a final decision in the fall of 1949.

Urge Senate Adopt Positive Peace Program

Calling upon the U.S. Senate to substitute a positive program for peace for the Atlantic Pact, a group of FOR members, including six charter members, made public a six-point program leading to this end. They proposed:

1. The complete freeing of Germany, without indemnities;
2. Transfer to the United Nations of responsibility for preventing any German rearmament;
3. United Nations inspection in Germany to enforce point 2;
4. Study by the United Nations of what police forces it may require from each nation to handle any threat to world peace;
5. Preparation for the liquidation of all other military establishments by UN nations under a time schedule to be decided by the UN;
6. Consideration by the UN of further steps its members may take to assist one another in repairing the ravages of war.

The signers included Emma Cadbury, John Haynes Holmes, Bishop William Appleton Lawrence, Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce, John Nevin Sayre, Harold Hatch and L. Hollingsworth Wood.

Hopi Indians Condemn Atlantic Pact

At the Conference on Indian Problems sponsored by the FOR and AFSC and held in Phoenix, Arizona on April 5-7, a group of Hopi leaders presented a statement in which they warned the United States Government that the Hopi nation would have nothing to do with its drive to destruction via the Atlantic Pact.

The statement reads in pa
"We the traditional leaders wa
you and the American people
know that we will stand firm
upon our own traditional and re
gious grounds. And that *we u*
not bind ourselves to any forei
nation at this time. Neither w
we go with you on a wild and rec
less adventure which we know w
lead us only to a total ruin.
Our traditions and religious trai
ing forbid us to harm, kill and m
lest anyone. We, therefore, obje
ed to our boys being forced to
trained for war to become murde
ers and destroyers. . . . What n
tion who has taken up arms ev
brought peace and happiness to
people?"

The statement was read to t
conference, on behalf of six
seven Hopi chieftains, by Thom
Banhocya, (formerly Thom
Jenkens), a Hopi who spent se
eral years in prison during the w
as a CO.

Philadelphia Friends Support Nonregistrants

In a courageous and encouragi
statement of belief, the two Phi
delphia Yearly Meetings of the F
ligious Society of Friends declar
their concern for freedom of co
science. Adopted on March 29,
statement called on Congress
repeal the draft law and said t
here and now the issue is bei
drawn between Divine Love a
the military system.

The statement read in part: "
believe in government and in
capacity of the state to be an
strument of the Kingdom of G
we believe in loyalty to it and
obedience to its laws, so long a
is such an instrument.

"But we believe that the lo

tizen, acting by the light which od gives him in his conscience, ust judge whether his governent is serving as the instrument God's Kingdom. . . .

"We believe that every young an who, under a sense of religious mpulsion, feels that he must reuse to comply with the Draft Law, any point, should follow the sureme authority of his inner guide.

"We believe that every Christian nd every Christian Church ody should encourage and upport him in his loyalty to the ghest that he knows. For ourlves, we give this encouragement nd support, as our Religious Soety has always upheld its memers in faithfully following their nsciences."

Garry Davis Launches World Citizens' Pact

In Paris Garry Davis made pub a "world citizens' pact" on pril 14, in contradistinction to the orth Atlantic Pact. He announced e pact at a gathering of about 0 workers in the Ferodo automole factory. It declares that "all manity is in a state of lawful dense against sovereign states, eologies and propagandas tendg to justify recourse to war." r. Davis is the former U.S. Army mber pilot who a year ago last ay renounced his American citenship to become a citizen of the orld.

Davis said he hoped to get 20,-0,000 signatures to his pact roughout the western world. The eeting nearly broke up when the mmunist local mayor suggested at the group go on record in vor of the Communist-supported orld Peace Congress, which was held about a week later in Paris. No vote was taken, and the hubbub was quelled by Robert Sarazac, young Frenchman who is regarded by some observers as the "brain trust" of Davis' movement, who told the crowd that there was room in the movement for all parties but that if it was to be effective in promoting peace Mr. Davis must remain above both Eastern and Western blocs. Copies of the pact were circulated in the crowd for signatures, and next day members of the Davis group solicited signatures in the Paris streets.

ADVERTISEMENTS

SOCIALISTS! A referendum has been called for by local New York on the North Atlantic Pact. Be sure that your dues are paid up so that you can vote on this important issue. See that ballots are mailed in so that a decision does not go by default. A NEW YORK SOCIALIST.

Charles Hornig, new Office Manager in the FOR National Office, is accepting applications from people who want to work in the National Office. He is particularly anxious to hear from competent bookkeepers, clerical workers and machine operators.

Position Desired: Experienced organist-director available, 1949-1950. New York City vicinity. Regular services, and special services, hymnology, religious drama. Salary—a living wage. Write Box 12, Fellowship.

SECRETARY WANTED: Bayard Rustin, dynamic race relations secretary who will take over the FOR's college work in the fall, needs a secretary, male or female, to start as soon as possible after August 15. Should be interested in college work, and will have responsibility not only for writing letters and doing mimeographing, but of holding the college work together in Bayard's absence on trips. Write to National FOR Office.

SECRETARY-BOOKKEEPER WANTED for school office. Must be mature and experienced. Ability to meet people. Capable of assuming executive responsibility. Interest in Friends ideals. Salary open. Apply to Joseph Connelly, Principal, The Friends School, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Mixed Policy on Nonregistrant Prosecutions

While several nonregistrants have been registered by officials and prosecution halted, others are still being sentenced to prison for the same refusal.

On May 11 Robert Bone, a student at Yale, was instructed that he need not appear in court as he had previously been ordered. The activities of members of the Yale faculty, who protested his prosecution and called the attention of the U.S. Attorney to the registration of other COs, were apparently responsible.

John Singletary and Millard Hunt, however, were sentenced on April 20 to a year and a day each, even though authorities in Georgia, where they live, had checked with Washington about "automatic registration." It has been reported that they were told there was no such plan at that time.

Dan and Vincent Smith were convicted of nonregistration May 9 in Fort Scott, Kansas, a each received a sentence of a y and a day.

Appeal in the case of Edgar N ton of Glens Falls, New York, w was sentenced on March 1 to fc months in prison, has been drc ped. Instead the case of Rob Richter, Californian who was gi en a three-year sentence in la May, will be appealed by Harr Freeman (also Norton's attorney on grounds of the unconstitutio ality of the Selective Service A

Richard Graves of Richmor Indiana, has been arrested, and awaiting disposition of his cas

Interested?

Would you like to help a working man lay the foundation for an ethical-social movement to be built upon an absolute moral idealism? Not connected with any group or ideology. Not a religious project, it welcomes any person of good will of any or of no religion; and without regard to race, or station in life. Write for the pamphlet entitled ACT NOW, which will be mailed without charge or obligation to any sincerely interested person.

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COs Around the World

S. Augustine Das of Bilaspu India, refused to take milita training there on the ground th his Quaker beliefs would not pe mit it. No action has yet been ta en against him.

Petrus van Lieshout of Holla was discharged by a Military Cou before which he was tried for r fusing to obey military orders. (refused to wear a uniform.) T court decided that if he had obey orders he would have violated conscience, and pronounced h "guilty on the above-named prc en and qualified counts but r punishable; therefore he is acqu ted." This is the first time, so far is known, that a military court h applied to its *own* nationals t principle that an individual is r sponsible to his conscience, not his superior. The converse, tha man who does wrong is not free guilt because he did it on someo else's order, was applied by the A lies at Nuremberg and in Japan their vanquished enemies.

Books

Garden of Eden

ıe Recovery of Culture, by Henry Bailey Stevens. Foreword by Gerald Heard. Harper and Brothers, 1949. 247 pp., $3.00.

Original man was a pacific ani-al who did not even kill or eat her animals, let alone his own nd. For most of his sixty-million-ar history the primate that be-me man lived on the fruit and nder growing shoots of the trees. ıe desperate privations of the Ice ges led him to abandon his arbo-al traditions to kill animals for od and clothing, and eventually d to war. In essence, that is the esis of *The Recovery of Culture*.

Henry Bailey Stevens, an FOR ember, has written what is first all a pacifist philosophy of his-ry, its theme that when man left s garden culture and became a sh-eating and war-making ani-al, he made a mistake whose far-aching effects became more and ore important as time went on. e refers to men—Lao Tse, Bud-ıa, Jesus, Gandhi—who have ointed the way to the receovery culture in which there would be complete respect for life.

The book is also a philosophy of ligion, describing the origins and ansitional periods in the ancient ligions. It breathes new meaning to the Garden of Eden story, the lling of Abel, the beginning of e Christian practice of using ead and wine instead of the traditional celebration of the Passover.

Finally, Dr. Stevens, who is an able horticulturalist, has written a book of science. Man's physical and spiritual dependence upon a tree and agricultural economy long before there were written records, is scientifically presented. The author's explanation of soil erosion, the creation of deserts and dust bowls, is tied in with his description of man's change from a tree economy to an animal husbandry economy. He points out that "the average acre in food crops in the United States provides six times as many calories as the average acre in crops fed to livestock." If Americans so desired, they could export to the hungry people of the world millions of bushels of cereals more than we export at present, without suffering any deterioration in diet, simply by shifting from a livestock to a crop food economy.

In discussing the use of nonviolence, there are interesting passages from the recent experience of Gandhi as well as from Jesus. One thought-provoking passage states: "It was equally fitting for Jesus himself to spend his novitiate under the trees, leaving all people behind him. . . . Thus he learned how to resist evil; for it is an axiom in Eastern lore that if you strike a tree, it does not smite you back, but endures even to the breaking point, throwing all its creative energy into its own good work."

Intensely interesting, so that it

can be read at one sitting, *The Recovery of Culture* nevertheless presents a sound intellectual case, and impresses me as one of the more important books extant stating the case for pacifism.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

To Teach Peace

Education for Peace, by Herbert Read. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. 166 pp., $2.75.

I was intrigued by the fact that Scribners, who publish few pacifist books and who usually put out Reinhold Niebuhr's works, should commend this book on the cover, concluding their summary of it with the words: "The only way to attain peace, in a world drifting toward a third and final disaster, is to continue resolutely but passively the way of Christ, of Tolstoy, of Gandhi. This is not another emotional appeal for pacifism. It is the voice of reason, controlled, dispassionate, constructive." I heartily support this evaluation and commend the book to all FELLOWSHIP readers. It is an excellent one to place in the hands of the unconverted, especially in the teaching profession.

The greater part of this book by the English novelist, poet, historian of art, and pacifist, deals with a theory of education based on art. The closing paragraph of the book provides the best possible summary of it:

> We begin our life in unity—the physical unity of the mother and child, to which corresponds the emotional unity of love. We should build on that original unity, extending it first to the family, where the seeds of hatred are so easily and so often sown, and then to the school, and so by stages to the farm, the workshop, the vil-

If you want to read a book on our central problem today but one that ventures off the beaten path, read

The Recovery of Culture

by HENRY BAILEY STEVENS

A prominent agriculturalist amasses the findings of biology, anthropology, horticulture, philology, sociology and religion to show that man's tragic turn to flesh-eating and war-making was five thousand years ago in the million-year history of his *genus*. Essential and intriguing reading for all who would build a scientific philosophy of pacifism.

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lage and the whole community. But the basis of unity at each successive stage, as at the first stage, is creativity. We unite to create, and the pattern of creation is in nature, and we discover and conform to this pattern by all the methods of artistic activity—by music, by dancing and drama, but also by working together and living together, for, in a sane civilization, these too are arts of the same natural pattern.

At another point he describes achers and children forming a oup engaged in common activi-es, largely play (or art) of vari-us kinds and comments:

The importance of this development, in the life of the child, is that it leads the child "by natural stages" from a self-centered state of egotism to an attitude of social co-operation. There is then no question of forcing the child to recognize and accept a moral code whose justice it cannot appreciate. That abstract "sense of duty" is wholly outside the child's mental range: the child can only be coerced into its observance. But that sense of "playing the game" which emerges when children evolve their own activities is a real thing: it is a felt relationship between little human beings who must co-operate to achieve their common aim. And to achieve this aim they must create a pattern—the rules of the game which give coherence and form to their activities. In such spontaneously evolved patterns, giving pleasures and satisfaction to the growing animal instincts and desires, lies hidden the pattern of a society in which all persons are free, but freely consenting to a common purpose.

Thus "we can avoid all coercive des of morality, all formal con-ptions of 'right' and 'wrong.' For morality of obedience we can bstitute a morality of attachment reciprocity, that living together perfect charity which was once e ideal of Christianity."

In a prefatory note Herbert Read explains that it would have been simpler to confine the book to his ideas as to how children and grown ups would be educated in a world at peace, but adds, "Since war is an immediate threat I have thought it honest not to disguise my pacifist sentiment, for education for peace will only get a chance if in the meantime we refrain from war." Thus the earlier portion of the book contains, as Scribners proclaim, an impassioned and brilliant

EDUCATION *for* PEACE

By Herbert Read

To *make* men peaceful is the immediate aim of this book; to *keep* them peaceful is the final aim.

Herbert Read, a foremost British pacifist, feels that the only practical solution to the question of peace can come through education, which alone can redirect man's aggressive instincts into creative channels. Here he offers a workable and detailed plan for re-defining the aims of education and for altering its methods. It cannot fail to influence anyone concerned with the cause of peace.

"Challenging and important. . . . Read develops his points with lucidity and logic."

—New Republic

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statement of the case for radical pacifism. "War," says the author, "is a contract or conspiracy between all those who engage in it. . . . We can, as individuals, refuse to enter into such a contract."

He calls on youth: "A new generation must come forward, recognizing that the majority of their elders . . . is dangerously infected with aggressive impulses. . . . They are not accustomed to reason: they see red." They are, and the youth who follow them, "flocks of indoctrinated sheep which yet have the capacity to transform themselves into packs of wolves."

He contends that "passive resistance to war is neither an idle nor a hopeless policy." It represents power—"negating power" which is "an absolute power—the only power that cannot corrupt those who exercise it."

I commend to my friends who tend to discount pacifism as "negative," the closing sentence of Herbert Read's introduction: "To arrest a fall into the abyss may not seem to be a very positive aim to set before youth: it is, however, *that negation of negations* after which creative action once more becomes possible." It always strikes me as funny when you cry to mankind standing on the edge of a precipice, "Don't take that next step; turn around," to have someone say: "But you aren't offering him a constructive program!"

—A. J. MUSTE

REMEMBER!

Fellowship Fortnight

October 30-November 13

For Local Action

"To Secure These Rights" In Yo Community. The Ameri Council on Race Relations, 19 59 pages, 50c.

Ever since the President's Co mittee on Civil Rights issued report more than a year ago th has been a constant stream of pu lications commenting upon and e panding the scope of the origi report. This present booklet is "Manual for discussion, fact-fi ing, and action in state and lo communities." Its purpose is to gi direction to committees in lo communities that want to find what patterns of discrimination e ist in their neighborhoods a what can be done about it. It h many valuable suggestions th would be useful to the group wh has not had a great deal of e perience in undertaking an acti campaign.

—GEORGE M. HOU

Students in Jail

Why Do They Go to Prison? U versity of Minnesota FOR, Feb ary 1949. Mimeographed, 10c.

A booklet containing the st of J. Kingsley Widmer and Aus Regier, both students at Minnes and both of whom were senten to prison for refusing to regis for the peacetime draft. Widme a combat veteran of the last w Regier a Mennonite, taking an usual stand for one from his chu Includes the statements made the two men to their respect courts, and some of the remark judges and prosecutors, and ma very interesting reading.

—C.

TESTIMONIAL

ke most magazines, FELLOWSHIP goes free to a good many libraries, ıblic and college. Recently, trying to cut costs wherever possible, we ote each of these libraries asking if they wished to continue receiving e magazine. Practically every library replied quickly in the affirmative. ese are a few of their comments:

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCES

The life blood of the FOR depends for its vitality on the exchange of id between member and member. This is carried on throughout the year FELLOWSHIP, by meetings, by correspondence; but the National C ferences present a unique opportunity for members from different pa of the country to meet, talk over their problems, and share their sights. Don't pass it up as a luxury—it isn't one.

SOUTH

August 16-21

LINCOLN ACADEMY
King's Mountain, North Carolina
(Near Charlotte)

MIDWEST

August 23-28

OTTERBEIN COLLEGE
Westerville, Ohio
(Near Columbus)

FAR WEST

August 30-September 4

GENEVA GLEN CAMP
Indian Hills, Colorado
(Near Denver)

See conference folder for further details.

TAKE A LETTER

The F.O.R. has a highly mobile staff, but even so they aren't able to sit down with e one of us for a good long talk. That's what's needed, though, partly to make the C ferences most meaningful to the most people, partly for the general work, and to st its emphasis. So sit down this evening and write it all out at length—especially you pe who have never presumed before to tell the staff what's what from your particular an

1. In what areas do you feel that you personally need help in making your pacifism m effective?

2. Is your group, team or cell making the best of all its opportunities? If not, what its weaknesses, and what does it need to do, or what could be done for it, to m it more effective?

3. What do you think of the emphases of the national FOR as given in John Sw ley's article and the news report of the actions of the National Council?

Be sure to include name and address, and occupation, with your letter.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
Attention: John M. Swomley, Jr.
2929 Broadway New York 25, N.